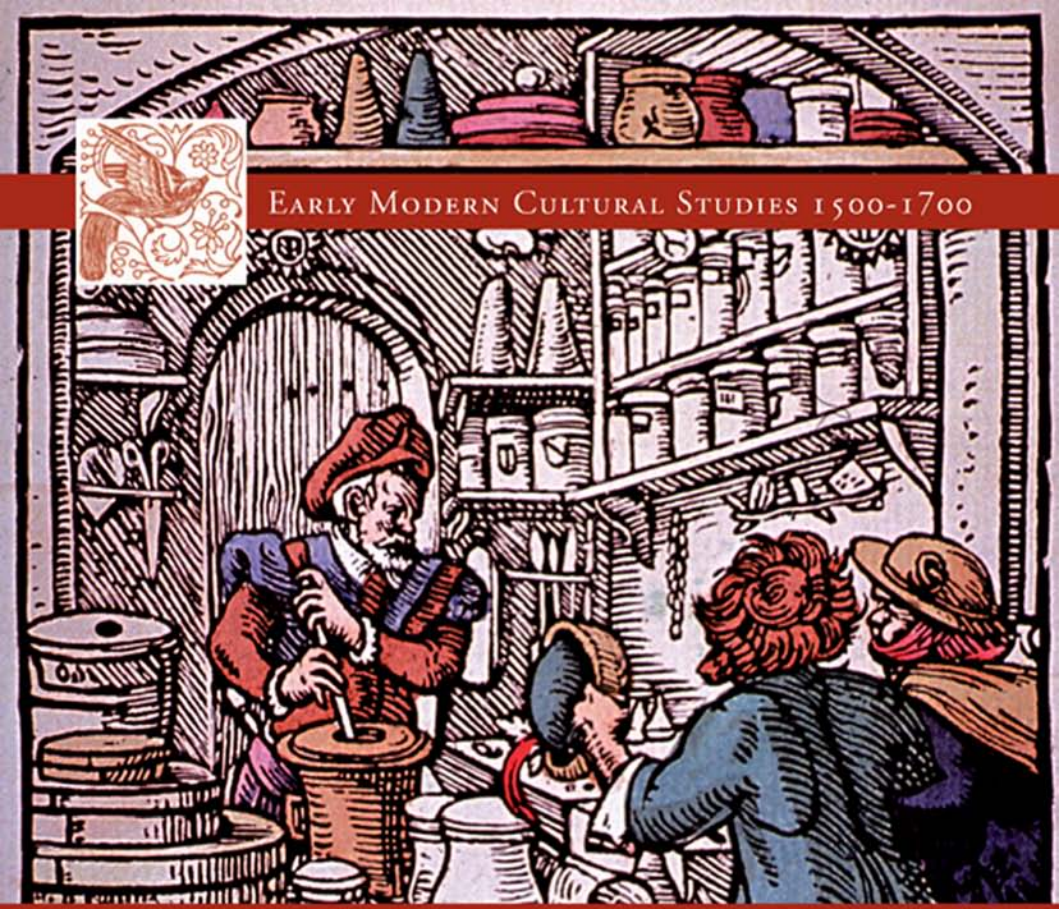

EARLY MODERN CULTURAL STUDIES 1500-1700

MEDICINAL CANNIBALISM IN EARLY MODERN ENGLISH LITERATURE AND CULTURE

LOUISE NOBLE

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Medicinal Cannibalism in Early Modern English Literature and Culture
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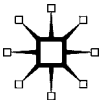

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Now for these wals of flesh, wherein the soule doth seeme to be immured before the Resurrection, it is nothing but an elementall composition, and a fabricke that must fall to ashes; All flesh is grass, *is not onely metaphorically, but literally true, for all these creatures we behold, are but the hearbs of the field, digested into flesh in them, or more remotely carnified in our selves. Nay further, we are what we all abhorre,* Anthropophagi *and Cannibals, devourers not onely of men, but of our selves; and that not in an allegory, but a positive truth; for all this masse of flesh which wee behold, came in at our mouths: this frame wee looke upon, hath beene upon our trenchers; In briefe, we have devoured our selves.*

Sir Thomas Browne, *Religio Medici*

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Series Editors' Foreword

In the twenty-first century, literary criticism, literary theory, historiography, and cultural studies have become intimately interwoven, and the formerly distinct fields of literature, society, history, and culture no longer seem so discrete. The Palgrave Early Modern Cultural Studies Series encourages scholarship that crosses boundaries between disciplines, time periods, nations, and theoretical orientations. The series assumes that the early modern period was marked by incipient processes of transculturation brought about through exploration, trade, colonization, and the migration of texts and people. These phenomena set in motion the processes of globalization that remain in force today. The purpose of this series is to publish innovative scholarship that is attentive to the complexity of this early modern world and bold in the methods it employs for studying it.

As series editors, we welcome, for example, books that explore early modern texts and artifacts that bear the traces of transculturation and globalization and that explore Europe's relationship to the cultures of the Americas, of Europe, and of the Islamic world, and native representations of those encounters. We are equally interested in books that provide new ways to understand the complex urban culture that produced the early modern public theater or that illuminate the material world of early modern Europe and the regimes of gender, religion, and politics that informed it. Elite culture or the practices of everyday life, the politics of state or of the domestic realm, the material book or the history of the emotions—all are of interest if pursued with an eye to novel ways of making sense of the strangeness and complexity of the early modern world.

Jean Howard and Ivo Kamps
Series Editors

Acknowledgments

For far too long I have worked, slept, and eaten mummy and it is wonderful to finally get it out of my system with *Medicinal Cannibalism in Early Modern English Literature and Culture*. I am determined that my next major project will be about something that does have the potential to trigger reactions of disgust, disbelief, or nervous cannibal jokes. In spite of this, I have relished my fascinating journey through an important part of our medical history and I am pleased to be able to thank all of those who have inspired, assisted, and encouraged me along the way.

I begin with my teachers, Marta Straznicky and Elizabeth Hanson at Queen's University in Canada. Their passion and dedication inspired me to become an early modern literary scholar and this book owes a great deal to their guidance and support from the beginning. The early encouragement of Michael Neill, Jean Howard, and Jonathan Gil Harris spurred me along, and without the kind prodding of Jean and Gil there might not be a book to celebrate. I am lucky also to have friends and colleagues who have helped me in more ways than they know: here I wish to thank Marta Straznicky, Maggie Berg, Darryl Chalk, Stephen Harris, Cathy Waters, Ron Bedford, Rosemary Williamson, Naama Goren-Inbar, and Judith Berman Kohn.

The idea for this study was first tested in 1998 on the astute audience at the Australian and New Zealand Shakespeare Association conference in Brisbane, and their enthusiastic response showed me that I did, indeed, have a project. During the process, the rare books reading rooms of the British Library, the Wellcome Library, the Huntington Library, the Fischer Library, and the Cambridge University Library provided knowledgeable staff, and an invaluable space for losing myself in well-used medical books. I am particularly indebted to the University of New England, Australia, for the research grant and study leave to spend time in Cambridge, and to Clare Hall for awarding me a research fellowship; at this wonderful college dinner was always a east of scholarly exchanges. I also owe a deep thanks to the Series Editors, Ivo Kamps and Jean Howard for seeing the value in my work, to the anonymous reader of my manuscript for

their generous comments, and to all at Palgrave Macmillan who have assisted in the various stages of editing and production.

None of this would have been possible without Michael Fox and Zoé Noble Fox. I dedicate this book to these two very special and dear people. Michael has been my rock and my best friend, and this book owes a great deal to his keen editor's eye, fine intellect, and generous spirit. Zoé has been my biggest fan throughout, and her unfailing belief in me is humbling.

Two chapters in this book have appeared in print elsewhere, although in slightly different forms. An earlier version of chapter 2, entitled "'And make two pasties of your shameful heads': Medicinal Cannibalism and Healing the Body Politic in *Titus Andronicus,*" appeared in *ELH* 70:3 (2003), 677–708 (Copyright © 2003 The Johns Hopkins University Press); an earlier version of part of chapter 5, entitled "The *Fille Vièrge* as Pharmakon: The Therapeutic Value of Desdemona's Corpse," appeared in Stephanie Moss and Kaara Peterson (eds.), *Disease, Diagnosis and Cure on the Early Modern Stage: Praxis and Performance* (Aldershot: Ashgate, 2004) 115–131. I thank Johns Hopkins University Press and Ashgate Publishing for permission to reprint those earlier versions here.

"Make Mummy of my flesh, and sell me to the Apothecaries."

—James Shirley, *The Bird Cage*

Photograph courtesy of the artist, Zoe Noble Fox, 2010.

Introduction

The Pharmacological Corpse: The Practice and Rhetoric of Bodily Consumptions

Cannibalism is never just about eating but is primarily a medium for nongustatory messages—messages having to do with the maintenance, regeneration, and, in some cases, the foundation of the cultural order.

Peggy Reeves Sanday, *Divine Hunger*[1]

What our druggists are supplied with is the flesh of executed criminals, or of any other bodies the [makers of mummy] can get, who…send them to be baked in an oven till the juices are exhaled.

Samuel Johnson, *Johnson's Dictionary*[2]

Global capitalism, advanced medical and biotechnologies, have incited new tastes and desires for the skin, bone, blood, organs, tissue and reproductive and genetic material of the other.

Nancy Scheper-Hughes, "Bodies for Sale—
Whole or in Parts"[3]

Medicinal cannibalism, the medical circulation and consumption of the human body, is part of a long and complex history that continues with the global trafficking of organs and body parts today. This book is about an important moment in that history, during which the early modern English distributed and consumed as medicine the flesh and excretions of the human corpse—frequently described as "mummy" (*mumia*)—sourced from both imported mummified corpses and

recently prepared local corpses. A central tenet of this corpse pharmacology is the perception that the human body contains a mysterious healing power that is transmitted in ingested matter such as mummy. The pervasive presence of mummy in early modern literature and drama reveals a cultural fascination, almost to the point of obsession, with the medical recycling of corpse matter. The main objective of this book is to attempt to shed light on this fascination through an exploration of the significance of the medical consumption of corpses for the early modern cultural imaginary and, inextricably, the religious implications of this in view of the contested belief in divine flesh in the Catholic Eucharist. But it would be misleading to attempt to isolate this recycling of corpses as a product of a single historical moment, or as a curious glitch in medical history. During my work on this book, I have been repeatedly reminded of the parallels between the early modern medical market's treatment of bodies and what happens to bodies in today's global medical market. As we shall see, traces of those earlier bodies haunt the commodified and fragmented bodies that circulate in our age. In temporal terms, recycled medical corpse matter defies synchronization; rather, it is embedded with the lingerings of corpses of the distant and recent past that flow through and across time and space in a multitemporal domain.[4] Consequently, this book does not attempt to map a chronological history of the medical deployment of the human body. Instead, while the practice and rhetoric of medicinal cannibalism in early modern England is the subject of this study, my approach is also concerned with highlighting the importance this holds for us now.

As is the case in today's medical economy, the fragmented human body was a crucial commodity in the business of health in early modern England. In many ways, the culture is defined by its preoccupation with the ingestible corpse drug mummy, or *mumia*. The term *mummy* commonly refers to an ancient preserved corpse; however, the "mummy" that appears repeatedly in early modern literary texts and plays—for example the mummy in the Witches' brew in *Macbeth*—primarily describes medicinal corpse matter.[5] Sixteenth- and seventeenth-century pharmacopoeias abound with references to mummy. The term identifies matter procured from both ancient embalmed bodies, imported from the Middle East for the purpose, and local bodies, frequently the bodies of executed criminals sentenced to be anatomized and the bodies of those who were socially disenfranchised. Both forms of mummy and other bodily matter were important drugs in the pharmacological arsenal and were harvested, distributed, prescribed, and consumed in a dynamic medical corpse

market. While a small number of corpses were legally anatomized in state-sanctioned anatomies, apothecaries and barber-surgeons were actively involved in the illegal processing of many others. In addition to mummy, bodily matter such as urine, feces, blood, fat, and bone were deployed in the name of health.

The most highly prized mummy was that from a fresh corpse, preferably a youth who had died a sudden and violent death, because of the widespread belief that a swift death captured the body's healing life force, while a slow death depleted it. The belief that the body's life force is captured and preserved in death gives mummy an uncanny temporal status that registers the past in the present and reinforces the multitemporality of corpse matter; in fact, mummy only functions medicinally in the present because it is embedded with the trace of a past existence. There is, of course, an uncanny parallel here between the medical ingestion of corpses in Protestant England and the religious ingestion of transubstantiated divine flesh in the disputed Catholic Eucharist. In Catholic theology Christ was often referred to as the great physician whose divine flesh is a sacramental food that can heal all infirmities.[6] While one is administered to treat the disease of the body and the other the disease of the soul—although the soul is also considered the site of corporeal contagion—both reflect the belief that the essence of a past life has pharmacological power when absorbed into a life in the present. The easy resemblances between these different forms of ingestion lend themselves, as I reveal in chapter 4, to post-Reformation cultural fantasies of consuming medicinal flesh that frequently invert to representations of the Catholic sacrament. It comes as no surprise then that for those Reformers who rejected the literality of the Eucharist, mummy appeared attractive, not as an alternative to divine matter, but as a food that mediated a special kind of hunger. Transposed in this way, medical corpse matter functions as a trace of that originary body, the *anima* that has never really been present, except as an already multitemporal trace.[7]

To explore this further, I use two apparently temporally and spatially distant anecdotes to illustrate how the traces of time embedded in mummy actively press up against and speak to the present and the future. On June 27, 1574, a disorderly York crowd witnessed the hanging of Robert de Fleury, George de Abbot, and William de Abbot, "without Micklegate Bar," for attempted murder. "After the execution," we are told, "their bodies were given to the surgeons of the city to be dissected and anatomised."[8] Thus, these three bodies entered the early modern medical corpse market, through which bodies and bodily matter circulated as objects of exchange and consumption,

often ending up processed as mummy. The acquisition of the human body and its vestiges was vital to the business of health in the age, deeply invested as it was not only in plumbing the anatomical secrets of the body's interior but also in deploying corpse matter for a whole slew of ailments using corpse matter.[9] I identify this medical treatment of bodies in the competing network of medical market relations as an early modern form of cannibalism. Four hundred years later, in December 2005, newspaper readers were exposed to a rash of articles about the sale of kidneys harvested from executed Chinese prisoners to British kidney patients needing a transplant.[10] This brand of organ harvesting is not, however, an isolated incident in our age; rather, it is just one small component of a market for human corpses that medical anthropologist Nancy Scheper-Hughes describes as a form of "late modern cannibalism": the highly lucrative and evolving transnational traffic in human bodies, parts, and organs for medical transplantation purposes that is caught up in the investment and technology of the twenty-first century global economy.[11] The difference, however, is that while we do have some idea of the destiny of the harvested organs of Chinese criminals, the fate of the anatomized bodies of the sixteenth-century criminals remains a mystery.

These two examples illustrate how what happens to bodies in today's medical market is one moment, albeit a highly organized and sophisticated one, in a long historical continuum in which the human body and its products are exchanged and distributed in a complex medical economy. Thus, the significance of the late modern medicalized body is perplexed by traces of the early modern pharmacological corpse.[12] With its capacity to disturb and disrupt time—in fact, in this multitemporality there occurs an overlapping and a pushing back—medical corpse matter functions similarly to the bog bodies of Irish literature, which Anthony Purdy describes as having "the ability to compress time and to render the past visible in the present."[13] In these terms, if matter can compress then it can also expand time and bring the present in touch with the future. Thus, the time of corpse matter is elastic. It challenges linearity and is both in and out of its time, occupying a temporal and spatial position that is, to borrow Jonathan Gil Harris's term, "untimely." For Harris, in certain circumstances, matter "assume[s] a . . . dialogic relation to the present, suggesting affinity and proximity rather than difference and distance between elements of then and now." Matter is thus "temporally out of step with itself and its moment," and Harris urges us to heed "the multiple traces of time embedded in things . . . [that] play an active role in the present object."[14] Harris's notion of the untimely is particularly helpful for

understanding the temporal and spatial dynamics of corpse matter. As an object of medical use and abuse over time, the human body has been ascribed meaning and value according to shifting practices and relations, needs and desires, supplies and scarcities, beliefs and speculations. This easily lends itself to a linear tracing. Yet Harris's analysis of the temporality of matter and things gives us another way to think about this, particularly given that the matter being discussed is the human body. Within pharmacological corpse matter there is a temporal lingering that permeates today's medicalized bodies. In these terms, corpse matter can simultaneously both be and not be part of a historical moment; yet for the purpose of this study it must be recognized as also existing in its own time and space—its "is" if you will.

Medicinal Cannibalism examines the shifting temporality of medical corpse matter during the period in which de Fleury and the de Abbot brothers met their death, in an attempt to shed some light on the significance of mummy in sixteenth- and seventeenth-century England. This book originated with a curiosity about mummy, piqued by the provocative lines in John Donne's odd little poem, "Love's Alchemy": "Hope not for mind in women; at their best / Sweetness and wit, they are but mummy, possessed."[15] In the following chapters, I investigate the medical significance of mummy and the powerful early modern English conviction—also a Catholic conviction—that the human body holds a mysterious healing potency, transmitted through ingestion and absorption, as well as the attractiveness of this idea for the literary imagination. So, in many ways, this book is as much about the power of literature as about medicinal cannibalism and how early modern writers understood the medical corpse market. At one level, the idea that nothing is sacred and everything is for sale has driven the medical commercialization of bodies over time. At a deeper level, however, the efficacy of these markets depends on an enduring belief that the human body is a powerful source of medicine. It is this conviction that makes the use or consumption of a corpse palatable rather than an act of defilement. Otherwise, as Julia Kristeva argues, "the corpse, seen without God and outside of science, is the utmost of abjection."[16] My exploration of the early modern investment in this belief begins with the science of corpse pharmacology: a form of medicine that involves the procuring, processing, trading, and ingesting of the human body and its products for healing purposes. I trace the early modern medical corpse, not to establish the identity of those whose bodies were processed as medicine—an impossible task—but to shed some light on the practice and discourse of

corpse pharmacology and its broader ideological and metaphorical constructs that we see in the works discussed.

It is no coincidence that writers such as Shakespeare should interpret and understand the multiple significances of corpse matter and take advantage of its figurative suggestiveness. When Sir Toby threatens to "eat the rest of th' anatomy," he invokes the imagery of the potential fate of anatomized bodies in the medical corpse market: being processed and consumed as "drugs."[17] While we can only speculate on the post-dissection fate of de Fleury and the de Abbot brothers, it is not inconceivable that their remains circulated as the specially prepared ingestible corpse drug imagined by Sir Toby and described in Oswald Croll's recipe:

> Chuse the Carcase of a red Man (because in them the blood is more sincere, and gentle and therefore more excellent) whole (not maimed) clear without blemishes, of the age of twenty four years, that hath been Hanged, Broke upon a Wheel, or Thrust-through, having been for one day and night exposed to the open Air, in a serene time. This Mumy (that is, Musculous flesh, of the Thighs, Breasts, Armes, and other parts) from the two Luminaries, once illuminate and constellate, cut into small pieces or slices and sprinkle on them Powder of Myrrh, and of Aloes, but a very little (otherwise it will be too bitter) afterward by Macerating, Imbibe them for certain days in Spirit of Wine, hang them up a little, and again imbibe them, then hang them up to dry in the Air, this so dryed will be like Flesh hardned in Smoak, and be without stink.[18]

Croll's formula effectively encapsulates many of the exemplars of early modern corpse pharmacology, which I set out in detail in chapter 1. He adopts a well-established therapeutic model that subscribes to the medical superiority of the human corpse and valorizes the ingestion of mummy—specially prepared human flesh, as well as blood, fat, bone, and bodily excretions—for therapeutic purposes. When we read this passage it is easy to see why the early moderns might have approached the use of mummy with squeamishness; however, the widespread use of corpse medicine suggests that for many this was easily overcome. What is particularly interesting about this passage is the technical nature of the language. Any attempt to sensationalize the cannibalistic imagery is foiled by the matter-of-factness of Croll's words, which portray corpse pharmacology as unexceptional. This points to the fact that, while on the one hand the medical consumption of human flesh may have been unsettling, on the other hand it made perfect sense. In a culture grasping for answers to the mysteries of the body and its illnesses, and in

the absence of reliable medical knowledge and treatments, the human corpse seemed replete with curative potential; the seductive idea of its efficacy endured well beyond the sixteenth and seventeenth centuries.

Croll's practical, scientific approach sets the tone for *Medicinal Cannibalism*. It would be easy to sensationalize the material on which this book dwells, to adopt a position of cultural superiority and to isolate corpse pharmacology as a fascinating, although ultimately rather barbaric and distasteful—perhaps even slightly amusing—glitch in Western medical history.[19] But this would reveal more about twenty-first-century preconceptions and vulnerabilities than it would about attitudes of the time toward the medical deployment of the body. The new historicist literary scholar is repeatedly drawn into the challenge of what appears as the inscrutability of the past. We are in many ways victims of epistemological seduction, of a pressing need to make sense of what seems unfamiliar and strange in literary texts, texts that we imagine mediate and thus—when sufficiently probed—reveal the thoughts, beliefs, and experiences of people of the past living within a particular cultural moment. The desire to recover what seems coded and indecipherable from a distant time and space is frequently tweaked by our desire to master what we do not fully understand. Robert Darnton suggests that

> We constantly need to be shaken out of a false sense of familiarity with the past, to be administered doses of culture shock.... When we cannot get a proverb, or a joke, or a ritual, or a poem, we know we are on to something. By picking at the document where it is most opaque, we may be able to unravel an alien system of meaning.[20]

However, in the end, is the past really so foreign? Or is its foreignness a product of our own desire—a masquerade of our own making and a burden we place on history?

There seems to be in what we do an element of what Fredric Jameson identifies as an aesthetic of "defamiliarization (estrangement), in which a stereotype is dismantled and brought before us in all its nameless freshness and horror."[21] While Jameson focuses on recycling representations of war in various guises, he offers a useful way to think about the idea of dismantling and re-presenting the familiar (today's global trade in body parts) as shocking and new (parallel practices in the past). Whether we are conscious of this or not, our excavation of the past has the potential to shed some light on the present—if we grasp where we came from perhaps we can understand who and where we are. Do we really understand this or do we neatly

attempt to consign what we find to the time and space of "then"—what Harris calls "the national sovereignty model of temporality"?[22] If we pay attention, the meaning we seek from the past frequently emerges as weirdly familiar, and we are surprised by the subterfuge of history. This is the case in this study. As suggested above, there are similarities and convergences between the circumstances, procurement, and treatment of bodies in the early modern medical corpse market and those in today's global medical markets. This temporal plurality arises at different points throughout the book; I return to it in more detail at the end.[23]

The identification of corpse pharmacology as a form of early modern cannibalism is a rhetorical strategy—as is Scheper-Hughes's use of "late modern cannibalism" mentioned above. In a frequently quoted statement, Marshall Sahlins makes the point that "cannibalism is always 'symbolic' even when it is 'real'."[24] Sahlins's statement highlights the contested meaning of these terms; however, the point—albeit a slightly slippery one—that cannibalism is always both symbolic and real holds for all forms of eating.[25] The purpose here is not to venture into the well-covered argument of what constitutes cannibalism, or who is or is not a cannibal, but rather to draw attention to the cannibalistic nature of a medical practice that depends on the violated, manipulated, fragmented, processed, circulated, marketed, and consumed human body, made possible by a culture that witnessed public displays of violent executions and bloody anatomies.[26] In this context the early modern body gains significance and value not as an entity but as its various parts, producing "a cannibalism that selectively nibbles."[27] Of course, in terms of what seems brutal to us about the past, there is much that is alive and well in our own age; indeed, as is the case today, while the early modern medical deployment of the human corpse was seen as cannibalistic, it was not necessarily identified as savage cannibalism per se. This is certainly the distinction Michel de Montaigne makes regarding what constitutes true cannibalistic behavior in his essay "On Cannibals," in which he considers corpse pharmacology as a tolerable, even admirable, form of cannibalism because it is practiced in the name of health.[28] Yet discourses of cannibalism cannot be easily separated from the possibility of the practice of cannibalism. As Gananath Obeyesekere argues:

> [D]iscourse is not just speech; it is imbedded in a historical and cultural context and expressed often in the frame of a scenario or cultural performance. It is about practice: the practice of . . . cannibalism. Insofar as discourse evolves it begins to affect the practice.[29]

In this study, therefore, medicinal cannibalism is understood as a rhetorical figure produced by the discourse and practice of corpse pharmacology.

As this book reveals, the cannibalistic suggestiveness of the medical corpse provided creative fuel for imaginative cultural reworking. Furthermore, corpse matter is itself a repository of meaning open for interpretation. In particular, social, religious, and scientific uses of corpse matter reveal much about the attitudes and values of the world in which it is deployed.[30] By constructing the medical violation and consumption of human bodies as a desirable practice, early modern medical discourse offers a complex understanding of what it means for one human to consume the body of another. Corpse pharmacology constituted socially sanctioned ingestion of the human body, and the cannibalistic imagery produced by the medical treatment and deployment of corpses provided a useful tool for the early modern literary imagination. The attractiveness and effectiveness of cannibal imagery has much to do with its resemblance to the cannibal act itself. Embedded in competing discourses of cannibalism—symbolically suggestive as they are—is the prospect of the literal: that there are, somewhere in the world, humans who eat other humans.

This is what gives the discourse of cannibalism its rhetorical power. Our perennial fascination with the cannibal acts of people such as—in our own age—Jeffrey Dahmer and Armin Meiwes speaks to the seductiveness of the idea of humans eating other humans. On the one hand we find these actions gruesome and hard to comprehend, but on the other hand we have an almost pathological need to believe that such behavior occurs; thus, these acts serve as evidence that the threat lurking behind the rhetoric is very real. The imagery of cannibalism has a long history as a durable form of cultural mediation already saturated with a highly nuanced range of iterative possibilities effective for exploring a range of human appetites, behaviors, and emotions. As this study shows, the healing corpse gave early modern writers an even more potent set of images with which to work, frequently resulting in a crisscrossing of discourses and desires that cannot be neatly distinguished.

"And I the Matter Will Reword": The Matter of Metaphor

> *With memory, with the reflection of an echo, a gate opens both ways. We can circle time. A paragraph or an episode from another era will haunt us in the night, as the words of a stranger can.*
>
> Michael Ondaatje, *Divisadero*[31]

As those of old drunk mummia
To fire their limbs of lead,
Making dead kings from Africa
Stand pandar to their bed;
Drunk on the dead, and medicined
With spiced imperial dust,
In a short night they reeled to find
Ten centuries of lust
So I, from paint, stone, tale and rhyme,
Stuffed love's infinity,
And sucked all lovers of all time
To rarefy ecstasy.

Rupert Brooke, "Mummia"[32]

[T]he dynamic of metaphor…[rests]…on the perception of resemblance.

Paul Ricoeur, *The Rule of Metaphor*[33]

When Hamlet offers to "reword," to represent, "the matter," he figures the matter—Gertrude's diagnosis of his psychological state as a form of madness—as a physical disease: "It will but skin and film the ulcerous place, / Whiles rank corruption, mining all within, / Infects unseen."[34] These words highlight not only the power of metaphor but also the figurative and ideological potential of medical corpse matter. If the meaning of rhetorical figures depends on language, which all cultures use to make sense of their experiences and give form to their ideas, then Hamlet's offer to reword the matter tells us something about the ability of figurative language to mediate, contradict, and disturb the familiar. Here, Shakespeare draws our attention to the ideological significance of figurative language in its power to constitute the social and political—including how we understand our relationships to and in the world—and also to destabilize these constructions to produce a new set of coherences. Michel Foucault identifies this as "a plastic continuity, the movement of a meaning that is embodied in various representations, images and metaphors." In other words, these disturbances themselves are the "organizing principle" of figurative language.[35] We constitute our world figuratively; the tensions, fissures, and paradoxes created by competing figurations in literary texts, and the beliefs, assumptions, attitudes, fears, and desires of the world in which these texts are produced are deeply implicated in one another.[36]

Like corpse matter, figurative language is at once in and out of time. As Cynthia Ozick nicely puts it, "Through metaphor, the past

has the capacity to imagine us, and we it."[37] I do not think that Ozick is setting up a linear progression of metaphor here; rather, she sees a figurative temporality in which the metaphorical associations, comparisons, and resemblances of the past seep into and out of those of the present.[38] In his discussion of matter, Harris posits the question: "What, in short, is the time of the thing?"[39] We can also ask this question of figurative language. With history at its center, the figurative exemplifies language itself, registering its diachronic tracings as well as the moment-by-moment events and circumstances in which it is caught up and through which it moves and transforms. As a repository of the past that speaks to the present and the future, the imagery of corpse matter functions as a temporal field of force, just as matter itself does.

The idea of the lingerings of time embedded in matter is particularly compelling when considered in relation to the human body. Today, this is best exemplified by the Genographic Project, which has begun charting humanity's family tree and migration patterns over the last sixty thousand years using DNA testing.[40] Through genome mapping, it is possible to uncover the body's hereditary and geographical story: this is matter at its untimeliest. Bruno Latour ponders this in his discussion of humans as "exchangers and brewers of time." "Some of my genes," Latour points out "are 500 million years old, others 3 million, others 100,000 years and my habits range in age from a few days to several thousand years."[41] Furthermore, here the human body is not simply matter for metaphor; rather, it is matter as metaphor that figures its ancestry through and across time and space. This is what Shakespeare is trying to get at in "Sonnet 53" with his question: "What is your substance, whereof are you made / That millions of strange shadows on you tend?"[42] In a sense, the genome-mapped body is similar to the dissected body; it reveals—albeit through a substantially less physically invasive process—what lies within. If corpse matter is considered metaphorically, then its ingestion constitutes the incorporation of the descent and atlas of humanity.[43] I argue that the early modern English writers understood the significance of corpse matter in its capacity to interrupt, overlap, and push back against temporality and spatiality. They also realized its effectiveness at representing the complexities of human identity and behavior. To "eat the rest of th' anatomy," as Sir Toby threatens, evokes not only dissection and corpse pharmacology but also the consumption of Sir Andrew's genetic makeup—his DNA in fact.

In these terms then, mummy articulates themes of the past and the present, manifesting a plethora of images associated with the

treatment and consumption of the human body. The range of figurative possibilities for mummy is far-reaching and includes embalmed Middle Eastern bodies, recently preserved European bodies, executed bodies, violated bodies, anatomized bodies, medicalized bodies, commodified bodies, fetishized bodies, and eroticized bodies, to name a few. While not the main focus of my study, the discussion of time in relation to matter and metaphor is important because it illustrates that what we learn from the sixteenth- and seventeenth-century medical corpse and its representations has implications for how we understand the medical use of the human body in our own age and into the future. Further, it encourages a way of thinking about matter and metaphor, and about matter as metaphor, that moves them out of a particular historical moment into a multitemporal domain that expands the parameters of interpretation. The subject of this book should not be seen as a historical anomaly, nor should today's practice be seen as a natural or inevitable progression. Instead, the point is that the bodily matter of today's global medical trade is alive with traces of those from the past and will itself form the residue of the future.

Furthermore, the practice of corpse pharmacology in early modern England adds an extra dimension to how we might interpret representations of the violated body. Rhetoric of the day that describes the treatment of bodies resonate with, and is in fact implicated in practice, in what was actually done to bodies. Corpse pharmacology is an important aspect of this figurative milieu and needs to be considered, along with other forms of bodily abuse such as torture and execution, as part of the suggestive range of violated and exploited bodies. In her discussion of metaphor, Ozick writes that "no cast of mind is more surrendered to the figurative than the namers of organs."[44] This statement can be broadened to embrace the notion that no language is more easily relinquished to the figurative than that describing the body in its relation to and at the mercy of medicine. Given the range of possibilities, nothing appears to work more powerfully on the imagination than the spectrum of what can be done to the body in the name of medicine; thus, in instances of such rhetoric, the idea of the body as potential medicine is often not far away. This is particularly the case when describing heinous behavior by negative stereotypes, such as the figure of the treacherous, cannibalistic Jew. We see this in *A Christian Turn'd Turke*, for example, which builds metaphorically the relationship between Jewishness, bodily violations, revenge, and medicine to the point when Rabshake declares, "If you gull me now, Il'e give you leave to make mummy of me."[45] Here Rabshake's words

imagine the worst fate possible for him—his body processed into an ingestible drug.

What comes next in this book is an account of the ways in which several sixteenth- and seventeenth-century English writers read, understand, and represent corpse pharmacology and its cannibalistic implications, a practice that is, as I show, inescapably caught up in processes of social disenfranchisement, judicial violence, scientific experimentation, and religious reform. In the end, literature is at the center of my book and I have chosen literary texts that best exemplify how different writers recognize the force and potential of the imagery of medicinal cannibalism across a range of genres and preoccupations. I am interested in the terrains writers traverse in search of their metaphors and what this imagery produces. To this end, while I discuss some works in their entirety, with others I focus on a single episode in order to show how medical corpse matter lends persuasive energy to efforts to engage with a range of social, cultural, and political issues such as political corruption, rules of commerce, religious conflict, anti-Semitism, eroticism, and female chastity. In terms of the belief in therapeutic corpse matter, there appears to be a secular and religious consensus. In the following pages, I examine the powerful imagery produced by the idea of the healing corpse and its ingestion. This particular imagery registers widely, not only through the multiple complexities of the medicalized corpse but also the Catholic doctrine of the salvific powers of ingested divine matter in the Eucharist sacrament. Moreover, while I do not do this with all the texts examined, in relevant places I discuss the role of genre and the formal engagements of a text to show the importance of form to a literary text's ideological persuasiveness.[46]

The basis of my argument, that early modern culture was deeply invested in the medicinal benefits of recycled flesh, is presented in chapter 1, which describes the medical corpse industry in early modern England that underwrites the intricate figurative play between the salvific consumption of human corpse matter and cannibalistic eating in the literary texts I discuss. Building on the long medical tradition of using the human body for healing purposes, numerous early modern pharmacopoeias offer recipes that contain mummy, human body parts, and excretions prescribed for a vast range of ailments. This practice, which initially deployed preserved bodies from the Middle East, is perplexed by formulas such as Croll's for preserving European bodies and raises the issues that this chapter attempts to clarify: Whose bodies were turned into mummy? How were they acquired? How were they processed? How were they traded?

Corpse pharmacology occurs within and, as chapter 1 argues, is facilitated by a culture of corporal punishment driven by a logic of justice through revenge: criminals are punished for the good of the state. The added punishment of dissection that we see in the sentencing of de Fleury and the de Abbot brothers reflects this thinking. There is a strong parallel between this judicial theory of revenge and the *raison d'être* of revenge-tragedy drama. Chapter 2 develops the notion that, in *Titus Andronicus*, the revenge-tragedy form provides Shakespeare with a literary space appropriate to his task of exploring a revenge-justice rationalization wherein human bodies are consumed—sacrificed and eaten—for the good of the state.[47] In a play in which seemingly irrational acts of revenge violence are in fact ordered based on a cool logic of medical justice and performed as a form of corpse pharmacology, the desire to turn enemies into corpse drugs emerges as a potent form of revenge. Indeed the play brings the imagery and preoccupations of revenge tragedy's past into its cultural present. This is particularly the case with the cannibal denouement, a literary motif that has, as this account argues, a long literary history as a remedy for human corruption and political infection. The epigraph above, in which Peggy Reeves Sanday says that the symbolic function of cannibalism has always had more to do with cultural wellbeing than with eating, has particular relevance for this chapter.

The business of health participated in a flesh economy wherein the human body, its excretions, and its parts had currency as consumable items in a competitive market driven by various needs. The practice and rhetoric of this market comes freighted with imagery of the human body as an object of exchange and consumption. For many, the medical market in corpses must have seemed rapacious—certainly this was the opinion of French Surgeon Ambroise Paré, who describes those involved in the medical corpse trade as "men wondrous audacious, and covetous"—and it is inevitable that a commercial system that fragments and commodifies the body should produce metaphors of cannibalism.[48] Chapter 3 examines the different understandings and iterations of this imagery in Thomas Nashe's *The Unfortunate Traveller* and John Fletcher and Philip Massinger's *The Sea Voyage,* two works that provide insight on the erotic and spiritual suggestiveness of the corpse trade and its value for representing instances of social and political injustices and greed.[49] In my discussion, I consider the form and function of prose fiction and tragicomedy as crucial to the cultural engagement and persuasive potential of these two texts.

There is a logical progression of thought from considering the medical capacity of the ingested human body to the Catholic belief

in the salvific power of Christ's body in the Eucharist and thus the charges of cannibalism Reformers leveled against the ritual. Chapter 4 highlights the uncanny resemblances between the ingestion of corpse matter and divine matter, practices that share a certainty in the mysterious healing potential of the human body. This chapter also examines the history of understandings of Christ as both food and medicine. In addition, I highlight the parallels between medical and religious reform in this age of challenge to entrenched authorities and eagerness to shed the "burden" of the past—Galenism and Catholicism, respectively. Edmund Spenser's *The Faerie Queene* and John Donne's *Devotions Upon Emergent Occasions* each express a hunger for divine nourishment that jostles against the imagery of medical corpse matter.[50] However, these texts represent oppositional voices in the Eucharist controversy. In Spenser, the desire for the real body of Christ is an error of appetite, an alimentary depravity over which the Redcrosse Knight—and allegorically, Protestantism itself—must triumph. In Donne, this desire performs a crisis of appetite, an absence and acute alimentary longing for divine matter that is mediated by the corpse drug prescribed for his illness.

Chapter 5 considers medical and religious beliefs in the salvific power of corpse matter in light of the culture's deep suspicion of women's sexual fidelity. In the emotionally charged masculine culture of Shakespeare's *Othello*, Desdemona's body is the ultimate corpse remedy at the denouement of a relentless process that builds systematically on the image of the mummified virginal hearts that stain the handkerchief. In Donne's *Anniversaries,* the elusive trace of Elizabeth Drury's body, figured as a healing quintessence, is consumed into Donne's larger poetic project of offering textual sustenance—through a corporeal substitute—to a spiritually sick world. The female body in Shakespeare's *Othello* and Donne's *Anniversaries*, preserved in death in a permanent state of chastity as the panacea for sick masculinity, registers medical representations of the virginal female body, the *fille vièrge*, as the most efficacious and valuable form of mummy.

These texts reveal how different writers, working in different genres, utilize the figurative possibilities of medicinal cannibalism to engage a range of important issues. The effectiveness of this imagery has much to do with the implications of the medicalization of the human body. Much of the current debate about the medical commercialization of the human body focuses on issues similar to those with which the literary texts I discuss are preoccupied. Catherine Waldby and Robert Mitchell, examining the mobilization of body parts and biomedical technologies in the wake of the attacks on the

World Trade Center, point out that "the medical response . . . was closely linked to the affective significance of human tissues, their ability to represent complex ideas and feelings about human identity and community."[51] In these terms, the human corpse and its parts have the power to convey a range of ontological and social meanings, particularly when associated with the paradigms of medicine. Furthermore, Waldby and Mitchell argue that "the medical capacity to fragment the body and the techno-social systems that manage and distribute these fragments, in other words, raise fundamental issues about ontology, power, economy and community."[52] This statement applies equally to the early modern medical corpse market. A medical system that trades in human matter and benefits from a dehumanizing judicial process that executes and erases the identity of its citizens has serious and wide-reaching implications for the individual, the community, and the nation. As the next chapters show, this provides a rich repository of a powerful set of images for writers keen to engage audiences and readers on complex issues central to the period.

Chapter 1

The Mummy Cure: Fresh Unspotted Cadavers

We preserve our life with the death of others. *In a dead thing insensate life remains which, when it is reunited with the stomachs of the living, regains sensitive and intellectual life.*

Leonardo da Vinci, *Prophecies*[1]

[A]fter Man's death, ther's no carcase so gastly and noisom as his, so that Toads and Serpents engender often in his scull; nor is his cadaver good for any thing when life is gone. 'Tis tru, Mummy may be made of it, but it must be don by embalment, and great expence of Spices. But many things in our carcases after death, serve for divers uses, as particularly in mine; my Liver, reduced to powder, is good against the Flix and Cholic; my Stones or testicles against the Palsie; and my Skin is of such value, that the fairest Ladies will be glad to wear it, &c.

James Howell, *Therologia, The Parly of Beasts*[2]

The practice of medicinal cannibalism in early modern Europe belongs within a historical continuum of belief that the human body possesses an extraordinary healing power. This hypothesis provides the philosophical, scientific, and psychological basis for a medical corpse economy in which the human body and its organs, parts, and excretions are desirable commodities in the pursuit of health. Although their doctrinal positions are antithetical, Galen and Paracelsus, two of the most influential medical figures of the age, both supported pharmacological uses of the body. Galen, the second-century physician

whose humoral theory of cure by contraries is the basis of the fundamental principles of early modern medicine, admits the curative effect on epilepsy and arthritis of an elixir of burned human bones.[3] Paracelsus, whose homeopathic doctrine of chemical therapy offered the strongest departure from entrenched Galenic therapeutics,[4] observes that the noblest medicine for man is man's body and promotes the medicinal power of mummy, human blood, fat, marrow, dung, and cranium in the treatment of many ailments.[5]

Beyond these powerful authorities, English physicians also had access to many influential European medical treatises translated into English, such as Croll's *Bazilica Chymica*, with its inventory of pharmacological uses of the human body, and Ficino's *De vita*, with its enthusiastic recommendations for the revitalizing effects of sucking milk from a young lactating woman and blood from a youth.[6] Thus English pharmacopoeias, finding an imaginative middle-ground between the opposing Galenic and Paracelsian medical traditions, are saturated with prescriptions and recipes incorporating a wide range of human body parts and excretions. In an ardent advertisement for English pharmacological inventiveness and the superior quality of English medical texts, Dr Christopher Merret writes, "[T]he Medicines in our *Pharmacopoea* are the best of any other Pharmacopoea in the World, both for their goodness, and well preparing of them, whether they be Chymical, or Galenical."[7] The most significant of these texts was the officially sanctioned *Pharmacopoeia Londinensis*, first published on May 7, 1618, with a proclamation by King James commending all apothecaries of the realm to embrace it. The *Pharmacopoeia* offers a survey of the entire "materia medica simplicium," cites a large number of medical sources, and includes in its catalogue various human excretions, grease of men, milk of women, mummy, and blood. In his introduction, George Urdang notes that the *Pharmacopoeia*—which incorporated medicine as practiced by Galen and Hippocrates, modified by the Arabians, and revolutionized by Paracelsus and his followers—was a product of the necessities of the sixteenth century but did not see the light of day until 1618.[8]

The belief in the pharmacological nature of the human body and the use of bodily parts and excretions as drugs are not isolated early modern phenomena but can be traced to ancient Hippocratic medical texts that prescribe pollutant therapy—the use of bodily pollutants, such as the polluted blood of violence, menstrual blood, and "corpse-food"—to fight impurity or disease.[9] The Roman notion that blood drunk hot from a gladiator's wounds could cure epilepsy and the Democritean prescription for bones from the head of a criminal

also belong in this context.[10] Ancient Mesopotamian, Egyptian, Greek, Chinese, Talmudic, and Indian healers shared an enormous confidence in the therapeutic usefulness of bodily pollutants; in ancient Egyptian "thaumaturgic-cum-pharmacological logic," Piero Camporesi explains, "the human body and its derivatives possessed a great variety of medicinal and curative properties."[11] The Greeks also adopted many ingredients from Egyptian and Near Eastern drug lore. This represents a continuity of pharmacological usage of the body that is both cross-cultural and within the Greek medical tradition itself.[12] Galenism is part of this continuum, although the extensive use of "dirt" therapy within the Greek tradition from "the early Hippocratics to Galen and beyond" does not mean that the Greeks considered excrement and other excreted bodily substances without a certain uneasiness; to the contrary, they often regarded them as defiling.[13] Galen's own inconsistencies regarding the use of such ingredients illustrate the contradictory position of many Greek physicians. On the one hand Galen vehemently renounced the drinking of "sweat and urine and a woman's menstrual blood," and the internal and external uses of feces as "outrageous and disgusting," but on the other hand he recommended the therapeutic use of excrement.[14]

I situate the early modern medical usage of human body matter and mummy, the "sovereign remedy" and "universal panacea" of Paracelsian homeopathy, with its direct link to the Hippocratic "dirt" therapy and the drug "corpse-food," within this cross-cultural and intra-Greek pharmacological continuum.[15] While the increased popularity of mummy as a drug in England can be related to Paracelsian philosophy and therapeutics, the ingestion of mummy for healing purposes is an ancient practice, originating in the use of bituminous materials in medicine. The tradition was established early in the Arab world and the influential *Materia Medica* of the Greek physician Dioscorides influenced the employment of bituminous substances from mummy as a drug in Europe.[16] One of the first known Arabian advocates of mummy was Avicenna (980–1037) who promoted "*mumia*" (from the Arabic *mumiya*) as a "subtle and resolutive" remedy,

> useful in cases of abscesses and eruptions, fractures, concussions, paralysis, hemicrania, epilepsy, vertigo, spitting of blood from the lungs, affections of the throat, coughs, palpitation of the heart, debility of the stomach, nausea, disorders of the liver and spleen, internal ulcers, also in cases of poisons.[17]

The traditional pharmacological understanding of mummy as a bituminous material underwent several semantic shifts, through what Karl H. Dannenfeldt describes as "a complicated and confusing process of transference and substitution," to the point where the term *mummy* came to describe both the black tar-like substance found in embalmed bodies and ultimately the embalmed body itself.[18]

By the eleventh century, Arabian authorities were advocating the therapeutic value of any part of a mummy, not just mumia; it is this understanding of mummy that came to prevail in Europe.[19] From the twelfth to the eighteenth centuries, mummy was an important commodity in the pharmaceutical economy.[20] In early modern Europe, mummy was "a medicinal preparation of the remains of an embalmed, dried, or otherwise 'prepared' human body that had ideally met with sudden, preferably violent, death."[21] The sudden extinguishing of life is essential to ensure the "occult qualities of Medicines," according to the seventeenth-century physician John Schroder, because the corpse must possess the "Balsamick spiritual substance fit to nourish," which is absent from those of "diseased dispositions" who "dye of themselves."[22] This logic is consistent with the Paracelsian doctrine of the "intrinsic virtue" of the human corpse, according to which "the body of a man who did not die a natural death but rather died an unnatural death with a healthy body and without sickness" provides "the true pharmaceutical mumia."[23] We see examples of the widespread influence of Paracelsus's understanding of the corpse's intrinsic curative power in Robert Fludd's theory that "fat, and blood, and mummy, have singular properties of healing, which they could not have, if all the spirits which they did receive from the living body, were exhaled."[24] Francis Bacon makes a similar statement: "[A]ny *part* taken from a *Living Creature* newly *slain*, may be of greater force, then if it were taken from the like *creature dying* of it *self; because it is fuller of Spirit*."[25]

Medical treatises indicate that English physicians administered mummy as a drug to Henry VIII and probably even before his time.[26] As mentioned earlier, the official *Pharmacopoeia Londinensis of 1618* of the English College of Physicians includes mummy and human blood as remedies, and mummy was a common drug in the pharmacological arsenal of the apothecary shop.[27] In his *Dispensatory*, Schroder gives recipes for elixirs, tinctures, oils, ointments, and powders made from human bodies and their by-products, manipulated and processed in various forms.[28] In the 1747 *Pharmacopoeia Universalis* of Dr. R. James, mummy, blood, and body parts and excretions are still recommended. The entry for "*Homo*, Man"—which occurs, curiously,

between the entries "The Sand Martin" and "The Porcupine"—states that man is "not only the subject of Medicine, but contributes with his Body to the *Materia Medica*."[29] Under the entry for "Man", James first lists the "simples"—or pharmacological ingredients taken from the live body—such as hairs, nails, saliva, ear wax, sweat, milk, menses, secundines, urine, dung, semen, stones of the bladder, and blood, which "drank recent and hot, is said to be effectual against the Epilepsy."[30] Some specific remedies include a draught of husband's urine to facilitate a difficult labor; dung for phlegm in the throat; and menstrual blood for epilepsy, pestilence, abscesses and carbuncles.[31]

James also details the pharmacological role of the "human Carcase," describing those drugs "useful in Medicine" as "the Skin, Fat, Bones, Marrow, *Cranium*, and Heart," and including,

> *Mummy*, which is resinous, hardn'd, black shining Surface, of a somewhat acrid and bitterish Taste, and of a fragrant Smell. Under the Name of *Mummy* are comprehended, first, the *Mummy* of the *Arabians*, which is a Liquament, or concreted Liquor, obtain'd in Sepulchres, by Exudation from Carcases embalm'd with Aloes, Myrrh, and Belsam. If this *Mummy* could be procured right and genuine, it would be preferable to other Sorts. The second Kind of *Mummy* is the *Egyptian*, which is a Liquament of Carcases, season'd with *Pissasphaltus*. A third Substance, which goes by the Name of *Mummy*, is a Carcase torrified under the Sand, by the Heat of the Sun: but such a one is seldom to be met with in our Country.[32]

The *Pharmacopoeia Universalis* proceeds to detail the wide spectrum of ailments for which the ingestion of mummy and other corpse matter is liberally prescribed:

> *Mummy* resolves coagulated Blood, and is said to be effectual in purging the Head, against pains of the Spleen, a Cough, Inflation of the Body, Obstructions of the *Menses* and other uterine Affections: Outwardly, it is of Service for consolidating Wounds. The Skin is recommended in difficult Labours, and hysteric affections, and for a Withering and Contraction of the Joints. The Fat strengthens, discusses, eases Pains, cures Contractions, mollifies the Hardness of Cicatrices, and fill up the pits left by the Measles. The *Bones* dried, discuss, astringe, stop all Sorts of Fluxes, and are therefore useful for Catarrh, Flux of the Menses, Dysentry, and Lientery; and mitigate Pains of the Joints. The *Marrow* is highly commended for Contractions of the Limbs. The *Cranium* is found by Experience to be good for Diseases of the Head, and particularly for the Epilepsy; for which Reason it is an *Ingredient* in several anti-epileptic *Compositions*. The *Os triquerum*, or triangular

> Bone of the Temple, is commended as a specific Remedy for Epilepsy. The *Heart* also cures the same Distemper.[33]

Curiously, James's treatise, spanning as it does approximately 250 years of medical practice, draws uncritically on the same medical paradigm as do the numerous earlier medical treatises advocating corpse pharmacology.

For several centuries, the various forms of mummy described by James were imported from the Middle East via major European trade centers. In Lewes Roberts's *The Merchants Mappe of Commerce*—an English merchant's compendium of the weights and measures used for commodities imported into England from Arabia, Persia, and India through Alexandria and major European centers—mumia is listed as a regular commodity alongside spices such as nutmeg and cinnamon.[34] And on May 12, 1668, Samuel Pepys records his experience of "having . . . seen a Mummy in a merchant's warehouse there, all the middles of the man or woman's body black and hard; I never saw any before, and therefore pleased me much, though an ill sight; and he did give me a little bit, and a bone of an arm I suppose."[35] These two accounts suggest that mummy was imported both as fragments and as whole bodies. However, there seems at times to have been a scarcity of mummy from the Middle East. Whether or not this was a genuine shortage or one invented by commercial interests or medical practitioners—perhaps in the belief that the recently dead were superior or more lucrative—is unclear. But the perception of scarcity created a desire for newly processed bodies that was met by the manufacturing of modern mummy in the Middle East and the preparation of European mummy using recipes such as Croll's as described in the introduction.[36] The term *mummy*, therefore, describes old and new embalmed bodies from the Middle East, as well as more recently preserved European body parts.

The early modern appetite for mummy provides us with a compelling account of corpse pharmacology wherein the processing, consuming, and trading of human bodies as medical drugs was made possible primarily by a judicial system that systematically executed large numbers of its citizens and, assuming state ownership of the bodies, made them available for "scientific" dissection in public anatomy theaters. Confirmation of this is found in Leonhard Fuchs's *Paradoxorum Medicinae* of 1546. An avid proponent of the medical efficacy of embalmed corpses from Egypt, Fuchs expresses dismay over the increasing use of modern mummy processed from what he describes as "the gory matter of cadavers received evidently from the

gallows or from the torture wheel, spotted with the feces of corpses in place of aloes and myrrh."[37] In fact, as an additional form of punishment, judges directed many criminals' bodies to be dissected. The language frequently used to describe this added punishment—"After the execution, their bodies were *given* to the surgeons of the city to be dissected and anatomized" (my emphasis)—clearly identifies the about-to-be-executed body as property of the state and thus at the state's disposal.[38] This also indicates that the state had a ready supply of corpses on hand. Francis Barker argues that "the record of death by hanging suggests there was an extensive, ruthless and effective coercive apparatus that was putting to death vast numbers of the people, overwhelmingly the low-born and the poor."[39] Not surprisingly, the records for dissections support Barker's hypothesis. Corpses assigned for dissection were drawn almost exclusively from the group that Barker identifies: the nation's underprivileged, disenfranchised, and impoverished citizens.[40]

Still, dissections of non-criminals and more privileged members of society were occasionally conducted to determine the cause of death, to discover the cause of antisocial behavior and corruption, or to understand a life. David Lloyd reports that in the search for physical evidence of depravity, the decapitated body of Charles I was delivered by his enemies

> to be Embalmed, with a wicked, but vain design, to corrupt his Name, among infamous Empericks and Chirugions . . . who were as ready to Butcher and Assassinate his Name, as their Masters were to offer violence to his Person with intimations to enquire whether they could not find in it symptoms of the French disease, or some evidences of frigidity and natural impotency.[41]

Or, as in the case of Dr. H. Hammond, explorations of the body were fuelled by a desire for a complete biography of the individual. In his description of Hammond's life and illness, John Fell writes: "The *dead body* being opened (which here is mentioned, for that the Reader cannot want the curiosity to desire to know every thing that concerned this great Person)."[42] However, for the most part, dissection constituted an added act of violence against an already punished body.

There is a long history of justifying judicial violence in terms of public benefit: the execution of criminals, frequently those who are socially vulnerable, has a symbolic salvific function that serves the wellbeing of the nation and its citizens. This reasoning is analogous

to the belief in the recuperative powers of the human body. William Cornwallis draws a clear parallel: "I verily believe, the hanging of one man, to worke better effects amongst men, then twentie made into mummie."[43] A strange medical logic runs through much of the commentary on the execution of those who had no real social future: while alive, their bodies were a burden on the nation; in death, their corpses have the power to serve a public good. This logic holds sway in the organ transplant industry today; the harvesting of cadaver parts is often explained in terms of social redemption or efficacy, as in this statement from an organ procurement coordinator:

> We see all the really bad cases—the dregs of humanity. It gets so depressing. I see donor work as more hopeful. Take that kid. Now his life was really worthless .... he just wasted his life. So he got himself shot up. Now his mother can say he donated his organs for other people. That's something she can say for the next thirty years—not "oh, he got shot up."[44]

A similar logic is applied in the case of early modern criminals—they can benefit the nation simply by removing themselves from it by execution. Henry Goodcole makes this point in his observations about the executed criminal Thomas Shearwood: "There was no profite at all in his life time to his Countrie, but in his Discoverie and Death, I hope some use, and good service unto the Countrie may redound."[45] A theory of reparative justice, holding that dissection enables criminals to make amends for their crimes by contributing with their bodies to the health of the state, also underpins the use of criminals' corpses for medical anatomies. John Donne brings this point home in his proclamation that bodies can be deployed for the good of the state in several ways:

> The bravest heroes, for public good
> Scattered in divers lands their limbs of blood.
> Worst malefactors, to whom men are prize,
> Do public good, cut in anatomies.[46]

Thus, corpses of the offending lower classes do not need to be processed into mummy to have a pharmacological purpose—whether simply executed or carved up for science, they benefit the nation.

The European and English theaters of anatomy where medical dissections were performed, usually on the bodies of executed criminals, were potentially a regular source for corpses destined for processing and marketing as mummy. In fact, the sixteenth-century

understanding of the word *anatomy* includes "mummy," creating a semantic link between the act of dissection, preserved bodies, and corpse drugs.[47] The recommendation of the eminent physician Antonio Brasavola—"When an executed criminal is dissected some of his fat should be preserved for pharmacological purposes"[48]—posits the corporeal leftovers of a brutal judiciary system, and the scientific curiosity it serviced, as highly suitable material for the production of corpse remedies. Certainly, Ben Jonson's satire on medicine recognizes the anatomists as traders in human fat when Volpone identifies "some quantity of human fat . . . which we buy of the anatomists" as a secret ingredient in the "*oglio del Scoto*."[49] Executions of large numbers of people ensured a ready supply of Croll's ideal corpse: one that had met a sudden and violent death.

There is little to suggest that citizens were executed *for* the medical corpse market; rather, it seems more likely that the market capitalized on a system that provided a convenient source of bodily matter. Jonson's cynical portrayal of the mountebank, Volpone, and his bottled cure-all elixir critiques the exploitative nature of this market, and the theater provided a public forum for writers such as Jonson to articulate opinions of this kind. His satire plays to an audience who would have been all too aware of the possible fate of the executed bodies of their fellow citizens; there were frequently fights over corpses at the execution site between the hangman, friends and families of the executed, and representatives of physicians.[50] Therefore, those whose bodies were most vulnerable to the medical market frequently strongly resisted those who were legally empowered within that market. Yet, it is not surprising that we may feel very distanced from similar treatments of human bodies today. A recent example of this is the media item, "Gang killed people to use their fat in cosmetics," about a group in a remote Peruvian jungle that has been killing people and extracting their fat to sell on a black market that supplies the European cosmetics industry. In what can only be described as a Volpone-like moment, two of the suspects "were arrested carrying bottles of liquid fat."[51] While for Jonson's audience the medical deployment of human body fat was a reality close to home, for us the Peruvian case is sensationalized as something performed by the geographically distant "Other." Rarely are we reminded of the historical continuum of the medical trade in human bodies that is our own past and present.

While the details of the passage of the early modern corpse from execution, to mummy, to the alimentary tracts of the sick are a little obscure, the *Annals* of the Barber-Surgeons' Company of London

provide some clues. Describing what was legislated against rather than what was actually practiced, the *Annals* provide a fascinating story of the progress of a corpse from execution, through dissection, to embalming. The Barber-Surgeons' Company was originally licensed to conduct anatomies during the reign of Henry VIII; the Charter, granted to the Company by King James I in 1604 legislates barber-surgeons as the sole practitioners of dissections and embalmings. The Charter stipulates that all

> openinge searinge and imbalmeinge of the dead corpses to be properly belongeinge to the science of Barbery and Surgery, And the same intruded into by Butchers Taylors Smythes Chandlors and others of macanicall trades unskillful in Barbery or Surgery, And unseemely and unchristian lyke defaceinge disfiguringe and dismemberinge the dead Corpses, And so that by theire unskillfull searinge and imbalmeinge, the corpses corrupteth and groweth presentlie contagious and ofensive to the place and persons approachinge.[52]

In an attempt to control the butchering and violation of corpses, and also the risk of contagion, only the "skilled" members of the Company were licensed to perform public and private dissections at the Barber-Surgeons' Hall.[53] The *Annals* also describe complaints against private persons dissecting bodies in their own houses and court orders both forbidding the removal of body parts and ordering that dissected bodies be buried in their entirety. All of this points to the difficulty of policing dissections and the existence of trafficking in dismembered bodies and body parts.[54]

Although only four public anatomies a year were legislated in London, the *Annals* cite numerous private anatomies conducted by those who managed to obtain a body, indicating that a steady supply of executed corpses passed through the Barber-Surgeons' Hall.[55] This means of servicing scientific curiosity was not, of course, restricted to London. The Town Council of Edinburgh, for example, was quite liberal in granting bodies for dissection, legislating in 1694 that unclaimed corpses, "all of which who shall nobody to own them"—comprising those who died in the Correction House, foundlings, children stifled at birth, those found dead upon the streets, and those who were murdered—would be made available as subjects "upon which . . . the petitioners might make anatomical dissections for further improvement of anatomy."[56] Edinburgh's openhanded "gift of their bodies"[57]—a glut of corpses that is rather curious in the face of only one official

anatomy per year—not only suggests a regular occurrence of anatomies, but reinforces the fact that the state assumed proprietary rights over the bodies of its socially disenfranchised citizens. As can be expected, although bodies were frequently gifted to surgeons by the state, such "gifts" often fell short of demand and medical practitioners willingly paid for corpses or resorted to more unsavory methods.[58]

We can understand, then, that in an economy in which human corpses were highly desired commodities, they were also freighted with symbolic meaning. A 1694 ballad celebrating the adventures of a highwayman named Summers who was executed at the Aylesbury assizes tells how, before his execution, he sold his body to a surgeon, slyly trading in what we would now call a futures market. The ballad relates how, while in prison, Summers

> stood up and put to Sale his body all alive,
> For to be had, when it was hang'd for killings three and five.
> A Surgeon then to encrease his skill, in bodies to Disect
> To goal did come and there did buy his body all compleat.
> The price he paid were shillings eight, for more it was not worth,
> Unless it better prov'd when that to hanging it came forth.
> So . . . was the money paid, and put in Summers hands,
> But strait he drank it out in wine, until he could not stand.[59]

Here Summers shows his true highwayman colors; by taking control of his body and benefiting financially from its fate—it is, after all, his only collateral, worth more dead than alive—he essentially robs the state and maintains a semblance of human dignity. Property rights, however, do not seem to be an issue here as the purported behavior of Summers and the surgeon defy the English common-law principle that denies all people property rights over their own bodies and forbids them to sell their bodies or body parts or purchase those of another person[60] Certainly, the early modern corpse economy flies in the face of any such principle.

In today's medical market, this common-law principle that an individual does not have property rights over their body is tested at many levels. Analogous to Summers's decision, in other instances in which a sense of self-worth is closely bound up with economic status and social position, the idea of retaining one's dignity by taking shrewd advantage of one's body as a marketable asset persists and underpins the increasing voluntary sales of organs for transplant purposes by some of the world's most disadvantaged members

today. Miguel Correia de Oliveira, who advertised his willingness to sell any organ of his body not vital to his survival, offers this rationalization:

> I am living through all sorts of crises and cannot make ends meet. If I could sell a kidney or an eye for that much money I would never have to work again. But I am not stupid. I would make the doctor examine me first and then pay me the money up front *before* the operation. And after my bills were paid, I would invest what remains in the stock market.[61]

While these words reflect the utilitarian practicality of Summers's position—although the ballad takes a rather lighthearted tone—both cases reveal the grim desperation of those who have nothing but their bodies to sell, a stark reality that spans the centuries.

Certainly, the idea of an individual claiming property rights over his or her body as a valuable asset provides inspiration for some dark humor. Philip Massinger's *The Picture: A Tragaecomaedie* presents for laughs the notion of a rapacious medical economy eager for bodies to dissect when Hilario reports that, "A Chirurgion passing by ask'd at what rate, / I would sell my selfe, I answered for what use? / To make sayd he a liveing Anatomy."[62] And in *Volpone* the quick profit to be made in the corpse trade is not lost on Mosca: "Sell him for mummia; he's half dust already."[63] For Massinger's and Jonson's worldly audiences, these words—although played for laughs—would have carried a disquieting reminder. Indeed, in a social setting in which the ballad and the play frequently mediated events and functioned as a form of political testimony—representing in a sense the word on the street—the grim message of each of these texts would not be lost on their audiences.

I see corpse pharmacology then as an intrinsic part of this medical economy that procured and dissected human bodies. While evidence points to dissected executed bodies as the ingredients in corpse drugs, it also implicates apothecaries in the corpse drug industry as dissectors, embalmers, processors, and traders of human bodies. In Edinburgh, the fact that the surgeon Alexander Monteith was permitted to build his own laboratory and furnace in the new anatomical theater and to allow "Intrant Apothecaries" to use them when conducting their own "trials" links apothecaries to anatomies and the processing of corpses.[64] Additionally, prosecutions against apothecaries make it easy to trace the route of an executed corpse, dissected and embalmed, to the jars of drugs on apothecaries'

shelves: John Dean was fined in 1573 for conducting an anatomy in his home; Michael Markeland was "complayned to have embalmed severall humane Bodyes within this City"; and William Cheselden "often procured the bodies of malefactors and privately dissected them at his own house.".[65] The significant involvement of apothecaries in this process is reinforced by the extraordinary story of Anne Green who, after her execution, was "beg'd for an Anatomy, by the Physicians, and carried to Mr *Clarkes* house, an Apothecary, where in the presence of many learned chyrurgions, she breathed, and began to stir."[66] Moreover, the words of Rollyard in James Shirley's *The Bird in a Cage*, "Make Mummy of my flesh, and sell me to the Apothecaries,"[67] suggestively implicate apothecaries in corpse pharmacology and serve as a bleak reminder that the path from healthy body to swallowed medical substance was relatively smooth.

Rollyard's inference, that apothecaries were willing traders in all kinds of mummy, is consistent with the public's general mistrust of apothecaries and the many charges of fraud and abuse leveled at them. Physicians such as Merrett frequently accuse apothecaries of falsifying medicines; using inferior, cheap, and decayed ingredients; overcharging; and using incorrect quantities.[68] Apothecaries were also accused of "great abuses . . . in handling, keeping, choosing and dressing their Drugs and Medicines," and of selling dubious concoctions as "made many times of naughty stuff, or not well prepared."[69] Samuel Garth's satirical description of an apothecary and his shop graphically reinforces many of these charges:

> Long has he been of that amphibious Fry,
> Bold to Prescribe, and busie to Apply.
> His Shop the gazing Vular's Eyes employs
> With foreign Trinkets, and domestick Toys.
>
> Here, *Mummies* lay most reverendly stale,
> And there, the *Tortoise* hung her Coat o'Mail;
> Not far from some huge *Shark's* devouring Head,
> The flying Fish their finny Pinions spread.
> Aloft in Rows large Poppy Heads are strung,
> And near, a scaly Alligator hung.
> In this place, Drugs in musty Heaps decay'd,
> In that, dri'd Bladders, and drawn Teeth were laid.[70]

Apothecaries were also accused of killing patients by substituting drugs other than those prescribed by physicians.[71] Not surprisingly, their active participation in the lucrative business of embalming led

to these more sinister charges of apothecaries deliberately murdering rather than curing their patients:

> *Apothecaries* taking upon them the wrapping up, and Embalming of Bodies (whereby they gain more money then by several years practice upon them, for their embalming amounts to great sums) may upon better reason be suspected of poysoning then any other persons whatsoever conversant among the sick; since both a particular interest and convenience of concealing may induce them to it.[72]

Ambroise Paré reinforces such perceptions of the corrupt and self-serving practices of apothecaries and their involvement in the mummy trade in his condemnation of French apothecaries—those "wondrous audacious, and covetous" men mentioned earlier—who, in the absence of superior mummy, were "sometimes moved . . . to steal by night the bodies of such as were hanged and embalming them with Salt and in an oven, so to sel them thus adulterated instead of true mummie."[73] It is feasible, however, that those who disparaged apothecaries had a vested interest in doing so, particularly since physicians were also viewed with a good deal of suspicion. Philip Sidney puts the general mistrust of physicians and their methods succinctly: "How often, think you, do the physicians lie, when they aver things good for sickness, which afterwards send Charon a great number of souls drowned in a potion before they come to his ferry?"[74] Nonetheless, criticisms of apothecaries were fairly consistent and offer telling evidence that they were deeply involved in the business of procuring and processing human corpses for pharmacological purposes.

But apothecaries were just one group of medical practitioners with commercial interests in the deployment of the body for pharmacological purposes; anatomists also had a vested interest in the commodified corpse, and, frequently, their involvement took place in a rather spectacular and very public way. As Gideon Harvey shows us, the corpse market depended at times on public performance—a form of advertising how well anatomists went about their business.[75] Harvey highlights these two aspects of corpse economics in his satirical introduction to *The Conclave of Physicians*, condemning those anatomists who

> fall hewing and flaying these Carkasses like Cannibals to the intent of all Spectators .... [and] . . . forbid any of their Members to hold private Anatomies, lest thereby he should draw too great a share of business, which ought to be in common; of so great a value is esteemed this Anatomy Jewel, forcing a Trade beyond comparison.[76]

Harvey's words illustrate not only the cannibalistic nature of bloody anatomical spectacles but also the lucrative nature of a medical market for human flesh that existed as much for profit and individual performance as for the expectation of scientific discovery. Furthermore, the anatomy theater was not only the public arena for exploiting the seemingly boundless pharmacological potential of a corpse. Cannibalistic acts were frequently part of the spectacle at the execution site itself. In a scene suggestive of epileptics drinking blood from Roman gladiators, a Danish folkloric account describes how "epileptics [stood] around the scaffold in crowds, cup in hand, ready to quaff the red blood as it flow[ed] from the still quivering body."[77]

While this sharing of blood symbolized the sense of collective benefit derived from the executed body, this practice also raised curious moral issues about collective risk, such as the potential danger of infecting the drinker with the disease of criminality. Elias Henckel cautions that, "Drinking the blood of a criminal who has been beheaded is likely to result in the acquisition of his criminal character and the pursuit of a career of crime."[78] Interestingly, Henckel focuses on the moral and ethical risk to the blood-drinking individual, rather than the moral and ethical implications of the action itself.[79] A similar attitude is present in the medical market today. For example, Waldby and Mitchell argue that, "the blood bank has been transformed from a source of communalized health to one of communalized risk, with parts of the population (sex workers, gay men, drug users) feared by other parts of the population as a source of contaminated blood."[80] And yet, as is the case now, in spite of a general uneasiness surrounding these practices, they were socially sanctioned in early modern England in the name of health and corpses and their fragments were managed and distributed within a viable medical economy, attesting to the complexity of early modern understanding of and attitudes toward medicine, the human body, and its properties.

Significantly, corpse pharmacology cannot be isolated as an anomaly of the sixteenth and seventeenth centuries, and there is evidence that the sale of corpse drugs continued into the twentieth century. The 1785 edition of Samuel Johnson's English dictionary reveals that mummy was still being sold at that date.[81] More recently, the 1905 edition of *Hagers Handbuch der Pharmaceutischen Praxis* states that Egyptian mummy could still be found in isolated pharmacies,[82] and the 1908 catalog of a reputable German pharmaceutical company offers "genuine Egyptian mummy, as long as the supply lasts, 17 marks 50 per kilogram."[83] These references demonstrate the enduring nature of the belief in the therapeutic powers of the ingested corpse.

Indeed, belief in the capacity of the human body to heal drives today's global market in body parts, which goes beyond organs to include such body products as "skin, corneas, bones, bone marrow, cardiac valves, blood vessels, and blood."[84] This list has much in common with the catalogue of body products in Dr. James's *Pharmacopoeia Universalis* discussed above.

I am not claiming, however, that there was a wholehearted early modern endorsement of corpse pharmacology or that people were not alert to the cannibalistic nature of the practice. To the contrary, Henckel's above-quoted objection was not an isolated voice of disquiet. Like the public mistrust of blood transfusions today, brought about by the contamination of blood and blood products during the 1980s, there were similar fears of corpse pharmacology. I mentioned the discomfort of Greek physicians toward "dirt" therapy; there was a similar early modern uneasiness toward the medical deployment of corpses. The use and merit of mummy as a drug had many dissenters, and most objections were couched as a general abhorrence of ingesting bodies, rather than as an identification and rejection of the practice as cannibalism per se. Fuchs, however, is one physician who does identify the medical consumption of corpse matter as cannibalism, challenging, "[W]ho, unless he approves of cannibalism, would not loathe this remedy."[85]

And there are other objections, although these have more to do with the unpalatability of corpse drugs than with the possible transgressiveness of the practice. For example, the physician Aloysius Mundella declares the practice to be "abominable and detestable," and the physician Philibert Guybert condemns mummy as "a true poison" and "a useless drug."[86] Offering a more graphic picture, one English explorer reveals his uneasiness with the element of bodily ingestion involved when he describes the trade in "dead bodies [that are] the Mummie which the Phisitians and Apothecaries doe against our willes make us to swallow."[87] Here, the shifting of agency onto medical practitioners is an obvious attempt to demonize them. We see a similar move in surgeon Ambroise Paré's censure of those physicians and apothecaries who cruelly compel their patients

> to devoure the mangled and putride particles of the carkasses of the basest people of *Egypt*, or of such as are hanged, as though there were no other way to help or recover one bruised with a fall from a high place, than to bury man by an horrid insertion in their, that is, in mans guts.[88]

When it comes to eating those he deems the most sordid and villainous members of humanity, Paré makes no attempt to hide his

physical repugnance; furthermore, in his eyes, patients who ingest such corpses are victims, forced unwillingly into such turpitude by medical practitioners. As for Henckel, the sticking point for Paré has more to do with the dubious natures of those whose bodies are processed and consumed as mummy than with the actual practice, which was not seriously considered a transgression. This was likely due to the vested interest many practitioners had in the recycling of corpse drugs within an organized medical market. For Georges Bataille, "Transgression outside well defined limits is rare; within them taboos may well be violated in accordance with rules that ritual or at least custom dictate and organize."[89] Certainly, one way to think about early modern corpse pharmacology is that the violated human body—dissected, preserved, desiccated, and distilled—is distanced from its original form as an ingestible medicinal concoction. Regardless of any cultural queasiness, mummy continued to be promoted and valued as a remedy well into the seventeenth century and beyond.[90]

Despite an understandable skepticism toward medical practitioners and their methods, and an obvious trepidation about the use of corpses, mummy was an important commodity in a volatile medical market. As this book shows, writers were endlessly fascinated by the creative possibilities of medicinal cannibalism. The commercialization and consumption of recycled corpse matter situate this medical practice in the rhetorical space of cannibalism. Hence I consider the term *mummy* as a semiotically loaded figure that emerges in early modern rhetoric freighted with significance far beyond the purely medical: a multitemporal figure that at once mediates the fears and desires of its present and the specter of its past. In fact, the recycled medical corpse, with its boundless metaphorical potential, flourishes in the literature and drama of the period in a range of manifestations that perplex notions of time, as the following brief examples demonstrate. In *The Merry Wives of Windsor*, Falstaff quips, "The water swells a man; and what a thing should I have been when I had been swell'd! I should have been a mountain of mummy." In *The Duchess of Malfi*, Basola mockingly reduces the Duchess to "a salvatory of greene mummey." In the true spirit of homeopathy, Rabelais's Panurge offers his body as farting mummy to cure the wind:

> If at any time to come, by way of restorative to such good Women as shall happen to be troubled with the grevious Pain of the Wind-Cholick, the ordinary Medicaments prove nothing effectual, the Mummy of all my befarted Body will straight be as a present Remedy appointed by the Physicians; whereof they taking any small *Modicum*,

> it will continently for their Ease afford them a Rattle or Bum-shot, like a Sal of Muskets.[91]

Sir Thomas Browne exposes the irony in the medical corpse economy, musing on the vanity of embalming and the fact that, "The Egyptian Mummies, which *Cambyses* or time hath spared, avarice now consumeth, Mummie is become Merchandise, *Mizraim* cures wounds, and *Pharaoh* is sold for balsoms."[92] In each example, the writer clearly understands mummy in terms of the past life it evokes—either the life with which it was associated, as we see in Browne, or the life that will become past, as imagined in Shakespeare, Webster, and Rabelais. Each of these examples draws our attention to the paradox evident when human bodies, preserved within and through time, become consumable commodities in a medical corpse market.

This chapter lays the groundwork for my analysis of how early modern writers actively participated in keeping medicinal cannibalism and its transgressive potential firmly in the cultural gaze. In particular, two issues raised here have important implications for our understanding of Shakespeare's deployment of a metaphorics of corpse medicine in *Titus Andronicus,* which is the focus of the next chapter. Firstly, the idea of bodily matter as an ingestible drug combined with the possibility that this form of eating is an act of cannibalism is an enormously attractive representation of acts of revenge. Secondly, the judicial process of corporeal punishment that facilitates the medical corpse market is itself underpinned by a philosophy of revenge justice. Bringing these issues together produces the compelling picture of an enemy processed into mummy as an act of revenge justice: an irresistible image of retribution for writers of revenge tragedy, which is frequently accompanied by figurations of cannibalistic eating. Basola's vitriolic fantasy of a weird form of justice in which the Duchess is turned into mummy, mentioned above, is just one instance of the many reiterations of this motif in revenge tragedy. In Webster's play, this insult to the Duchess is quickly followed by the cannibalistic construction of the her flesh as food—"A little crudded milk, fantastical puff paste"—as the play moves easily between medical and culinary figurations of the body. As I demonstrate, the cold logic of violent revenge justice in *Titus Andronicus*, which pivots on the consumption of human bodies as a form of political healing, draws inspiration from the cultural practice of corpse pharmacology.

Chapter 2

Medicine, Cannibalism, and Revenge Justice: *Titus Andronicus*

I strive to scourge polluting beastliness
…..
Fair Detestation of foul odious sin,
In which our swinish times lie wallowing,
Be thou my conduct and my Genius,
My wits-inciting sweet-breath'd Zephyrus.
O that a Satire's hand had force to pluck
Some floodgate up, to purge the world from muck!

John Marston, *The Scourge of Villanie*[1]

Danton: A mistake crept in when we were made, there's something missing.
Camille: To put it more grandly: "How long is mankind in his eternal hunger to continue devouring his own limbs?"…Or: "How long are we mathematicians of the flesh in our hunt for the ever elusive x to continue to write our equations with the bleeding fragments of human limbs?"

Georg Büchner, *Danton's Death*[2]

The evidence of medicinal cannibalism that I have pieced together so far is the stuff of revenge tragedy at its finest. Like the bloody spectacles of the revenge tragedy stage, it paints a scenario of the human body executed, dissected, processed, traded, and eaten. In the previous chapter, I quoted Leonard Fuchs's description of mummy as

composed of "the gory matter of cadavers received evidently from the gallows or from the torture wheel, spotted with the feces of corpses." In similarly vivid terms, revenge tragedy is littered with bodily matter. For example, early in *The Spanish Tragedy*, the General's words, "Here falls a body scindered from his head, / There legs and arms lie bleeding on the grass," describe the bespattered battlefield topography that gives narrative coherence to the play and prepares us for the mutilations to follow.[3] Yet, this imagery of mutilation could characterize almost any revenge tragedy text. As Stevie Simkin nicely puts it, "Nowhere is the fragility of the body more evident than in revenge tragedy….. Time and again, the body is violated, punctured, caused to bleed, mutilated. Characters have limbs and other body parts removed at the drop of a hat."[4] But what makes many of these texts important indexes of cultural attitudes to contemporary medical practices is that the desire to turn enemies into an ingestible corpse drug—often figured as mummy—emerges as a potent fantasy of revenge. In *The White Devil*, Isabella fantasizes that she will "preserve [Vittoria's] flesh like mummia, for trophies / Of my just anger." Moments later, Flamineo reinforces the pharmacological significance of this when he proposes to "compound a medicine out of their two heads, stronger than garlic, deadlier than stibium." Further, Tibalt's threatening words in *The Sea Voyage*—"You shall grow mumey rascals / I'll make you fall to your brawnes and your buttocks, / And worry one another like keen bandoggs"—draw attention to the cannibalistic nature of corpse pharmacology. And in Bromley's frustrated desire for vengeance in *The Honest Lawyer*—"Oh I could wish my nailes turn"d Vultures talons, / That I might teare their flesh in mammocks, raise / My losses from their carcases turn'd Mummy"—mummy acquires retributive currency in the criminal economy of the play.[5] In different ways in each of these plays, corpse pharmacology provides the inspiration for fantasizing about highly desirable forms of revenge punishment.

In this chapter, I consider how the practice of corpse pharmacology and the accompanying mutilation and ingestion of bodies permeates the social imagination with a limitless fund of metaphors, significant to those who share the same frames of reference for revenge. Specifically, what interests me is the possibility that representations of revenge in which human bodies become exceptionally potent ingredients of cultural or political remedy can be seen as forms of cultural mediations with important ideological messages. In general, the revenge tragedy genre is preoccupied with issues of bodily violence—a point well made by critics over the years—and there is a

wide range of works on which I could focus to make my argument; however, I have chosen *Titus Andronicus* because, more than in any other revenge tragedy, the extravagant, seemingly senseless acts of revenge violence are in fact ordered within a cool logic of medical justice and performed as a form of corpse therapy.[6] The play also brings the imagery and preoccupations of revenge tragedy's past into its cultural present. I see this text, then, not only as a response to the pressures of history that the systematic practice of bodily violence brings to bear, but also as a form of political witness that exerts in turn its own pressure on history.[7] In a play such as *Titus*, representations of revenge therapy that pivot on acts of bodily violence and cannibalism perform a historical task by registering in their figurative range the contradictions and ideologies inherent in medicinal cannibalism, a practice inseparable from the physical violence and bodily mutilations carried out in the name of justice.

To begin, I turn to two recent essays that prompt us to consider generic literary forms as mediators of history. Jean Howard reminds us that paying attention to the "concept of genre" helps us to think about "how texts both bear the mark of the larger culture in which they were produced and also participate in the broader forms of social struggle and transformation." "For Marxists," she argues, "genre has long been a key concept for making visible the pressure of the world on the text and the text on the world."[8] Adopting a similar approach, Elizabeth Hanson (revisiting Jameson's ideology of form) broadens Howard's focus on genre to consider literary form as a specific instance of cultural mediation. "In what ways," Hanson asks, "can culture, understood as the material relations and ways of thinking and feeling which define a particular place and time and locate it in history, be present in a literary text?"[9] While Howard and Hanson both focus here on city comedy, their reflections on the historical work of literary texts can be usefully applied to revenge tragedy and, more specifically, to literary motifs through time, such as the motif of revenge cannibalism that is central to this chapter.

The Cannibal Motif and Literary History

Representations of revenge cannibalism as a cure for political infection are heirs to a long literary history. Elizabethan and Jacobean stagings of revenge cannibalism are greatly indebted to classical cannibal motifs that provided writers of the past with useful ways to represent their world. Performances of remedial cannibalism such as we see recycled in *Titus* draw on a specific topos from revenge

tragedy: the revenger forces the victim to unwittingly eat their relatives, usually served up as the main ingredient of a special meal. An example of this is found in Ovid's *Metamorphoses*:

> King Tereus dines and, dining, swallows down
> Flesh of his flesh, and calls, so dark the night
> That blinds him, "Bring young Itys here to me!"
> Oh joy! She cannot hide her cruel joy,
> And, bursting to announce her deed of doom,
> "You have him here," she cries, "inside!"
> . . .
> With a great shout the Thracian king thrust back
> The table . . .
> Gladly, if he could, He'd tear himself apart to vomit back
> That frightful feast, that flesh of his own flesh.[10]

Here, Procne's revenge on Tereus for violating Philomela culminates in an act of unwitting pedophagy. Repetitions of this motif rely on the shock value of this taboo-breaking behavior and follow a similar pattern, making much of the forced consumption of blood relations, usually children, as the ultimate form of revenge. In this scenario, the preparation of the corpse is invariably culinary as we see described in Ovid: "...they carved and jointed [Itys], / And cooked the parts; some bubbled in a pan, / Some hissed on spits; the closet swam with blood."[11] The pattern includes a recapitulation of preceding events and highlights the avenger's triumphant gloating and the eater's vomiting self-disgust as the grisly ingredients of the meal are exposed and the horror of the transgression dawns. Another example of this motif in classical Roman literature occurs in Seneca's *Thyestes* in which Atreus slaughters, butchers, and cooks Thyestes' sons and feeds them to their father. The historical continuum of the motif can be traced back into its Greek past. We know that Seneca draws on Aeschylus's *Oresteia* and that this and Ovid's interpretation of the story of Philomela go back even further to Homer and others.

Throughout Western literary history, this motif has provided a dynamic figurative space in which to explore human frailty and political infection and to expose the illogical nature of revenge through images of irrational savagery. Its various iterations are easily traceable. In classical Greek literature, this motif exposes the myth of civility by opening up for interrogation such issues as codes of morality, systems of justice, political order, and individual power. Similarly, in Ovid and Seneca, both of whom were strong critics of Roman morality and imperialism, the revenge cannibalism motif destabilizes the boundary

between notions of the civilized and barbaric by exposing imperial pathology: the lawless brutality and political voracity of Roman aristocracy mocks the notion of the "civilized" state of Rome. While most critics agree that Renaissance writers of revenge tragedy draw from their Roman predecessors, this literary motif also has roots in Greek culture.

In *Titus*, the motif stands at the crossroads of the English revenge tragedy tradition that draws equally on its long literary history and Renaissance dramatic forms. In the play, the manifestation of the motif of revenge cannibalism at a spectacular banquet during which Titus feeds Chiron and Demetrius to their mother Tamora functions in several ways. It evolves into a useful critique of the founding myths of Western European civilization—and consequentially, Shakespeare's own literary tradition—exposing the opposing cultural forces of civility and barbarism on which Roman imperialism is built, and also stages the differences between Renaissance culture and earlier forms and traditions that it seeks both to incorporate and supersede. Furthermore, it mediates the social and political. In exposing the irrationality of revenge, political ruthlessness, and paranoid logic, the revenge cannibalism motif questions the very nature of the civilized state, raising relevant issues at a time when England was intent on negotiating its own imperial politics, systems of morality and justice, emergent notions of individualism, and expansionist encounters. The point I am making here is that there is a historical continuum of the use of this motif to express complex cultural predicaments—a tradition that continues today.

An excellent contemporary example of this can be found in the "Scott Tenorman Must Die" episode of the television cartoon series, *South Park*, in which Cartman cooks Scott Tenorman's parents into a bowl of chili and feeds them to Scott as an act of revenge. And his triumphant shout, "Na, na, na, na, na. I made you eat your parents!" resonates with the gloating of Ovid's Procne when she triumphantly reveals to Tereus the contents of his meal. Here, the creators of *South Park* reinvigorate for twenty-first-century television audiences a literary motif that has gathered ideological and metaphorical meaning over time. While in *South Park* the motif represents the universal notion of the dark and twisted nature of human beings and their world, it also has an ideological meaning anchored in its own American cultural context. At various moments in literary history, revenge cannibalism emerges as a suitable motif for mediating the predicament of a world seriously at odds with itself. This is evident in *Titus Andronicus*: the violence perpetuated by the late sixteenth-century English state

against its citizens, a violence in which the practice of medicinal cannibalism is caught up, is figured in the mutilation and eating of bodies for therapeutic purposes.

Furthermore, there is a close and lasting affiliation between the vocabularies of medicine, punishment, and revenge that gives expression to the human record of suffering and sacrifice: illness is frequently described in terms of revenge (e.g., "Montezuma's revenge") and punishment and revenge in terms of medicine (e.g., "give them a taste of their own medicine"). It is reported that in his final minutes, Sir Walter Raleigh ran his finger along the edge of the headsman's axe saying, "This is a sharp Medicine, but it is a Physician for all Disease."[12] The fact that this rhetoric occurs throughout history in so many different contexts as a way of describing certain human experiences is noteworthy—a point that Terry Eagleton also makes when he argues that, while history is dynamic in many ways, "There is also much in the human record which does not change, or which alters rather gradually."[13] Certainly, we recognize the transhistoricality of the logic of healing expressed as catharsis and purification in public and private forms of revenge. This logic has a long history, as Louis Gernet shows in his discussion of judicial punishments in ancient Greece. Execution, Gernet argues, is a form of revenge driven by a medical reasoning of social recuperation: "[T]he death penalty is a means employed to eliminate a *miasma*, a 'pollution'...it manifests itself primarily as...a purificatory 'freeing' of the group among whom the responsibility for shedding new blood is at times diluted or even disappears."[14] In similar terms, the author of the 1624 text *The Crying of Murther* describes "our modern murders.... The scarlet tincture and guiltiness whereof pollutes the earth, infects the air, and cries for vengeance at the gates of heaven, and the judgment seat of the Almighty."[15] And notably, in the words of Malcolm in *Macbeth*, revenge *is* medicine: "Be comforted," he tells Ross and Macduff, " Let's make us med'cines of our great revenge / To cure this deadly grief."[16]

This belief in revenge and social recuperation spans time and space as evidenced by today's arguments in favor of the death penalty. Kerry Lauerman writes that the decision to allow survivors and relatives of victims of the 1995 Oklahoma City bombings to witness the execution of Timothy McVeigh was rationalized by the desire to bring "closure" and "emotional healing." Yet, as Lauerman points out, "Nobody talks about the dark side: the primal desire for revenge and retribution, the catharsis many hope will come through an old-fashioned, eye-for-an-eye punishment that fits the crime."[17] Here the desire for

remedy is driven by the desire for revenge: the originary underbelly of the rhetoric of healing and closure—both much-overused concepts in our own age—is the human need for retribution.

It comes as no surprise then that revenge tragedy, with its violent representational history, provided a genre more than adequate for the task of mediating for early modern audiences and readers the judicial and medical violation of bodies. In fact, the notion of revenge, which included in its semantic range the concept of retribution, was embedded in judicial rhetoric and practice, and descriptions of justice meted out by the Tudor and Stuart sociolegal systems frequently drew on revenge imagery. Ronald Broude writes that it was not uncommon to see magistrates called "the common revengers" and punishment referred to as "public vengeance."[18] While in a work such as *Titus* Shakespeare clearly draws on the revenge tragedy literary tradition, by experimenting with that tradition and staging the violations of bodies practiced in the world in which it is produced and with which it engages, the play also signals its own historical and cultural moment. Literature's ability to perform this task is described by Pierre Macherey, who makes a case for the historical role of literature: "[T]he emergence of the work required this history . . . this is why it is possible to trace the path which leads from the haunted work to that which haunts it."[19] Indeed, even if we knew nothing about early modern medical practices, the representation of acts of relentless bodily violations and cannibalism in revenge tragedy that are frequently caught up in tortured figurations of pollution and remedy should send us hunting for evidence, not only of the historical recycling of this imagery, but also of what this tells us about the treatment of bodies at the time.

"And Make Two Pasties of Your Shameful Heads"

> *Now, now the house will swim in retributive blood. I see swords, hatchets, spears, the royal head split with the heavy blow of the ax. Now crimes are near, now treachery, slaughter, blood—banquets are prepared.*
>
> Seneca, *Agamemnon*[20]

> *The desire to give blood . . . points to . . . the complex imbrication of giving blood with ideas and feelings about nation, citizenship and community, and the place of the body and its capacities within this constellation of concepts.*
>
> Catherine Waldby and Robert Mitchell, *Tissue Economies*[21]

The human body in *Titus Andronicus*—abused, sacrificed, dismembered, and finally eaten—mediates the disturbing contiguity between early modern corpse pharmacology and the harsh realities of retributive state justice. Representations of the horrible fates of bodies in the name of revenge justice in the play—the kind of retribution Francis Bacon described as "a sort of wild justice"—are deeply entangled in the judicial and medical treatments of bodies in Shakespeare's age.[22] The therapeutic use of powerful bodily pollutants, discussed in chapter 1, through which the blood of violence, menstrual blood, forbidden flesh, and corpse-food can be turned against impurity itself, is of particular relevance to the threatening political contagion and fraught instances of contaminating violence in the play.[23] In an extraordinary attempt to restore political stability to Rome, horrifying acts of revenge perform harsh homeopathic remedies wherein each savage crime, each act of defiling violence is countered by another one, yet more savage and defiling. In the absence of legal restitution, a malicious form of personal justice, administered against what René Girard has called "the dread disease of violence," becomes a unifying motif of the play.[24] Polluted bodies, their parts, and their bloody excretions—by-products of revenge, which uncannily resemble the ingestible by-products of execution that form the early modern pharmacological arsenal—are deployed as powerful agents against sociopolitical pathogens in a vain attempt to rescue the disintegrating moral framework of Rome. In the end, the grisly challenge posed by *Titus* is to what extent polluting acts of violence and cannibalism, which breach the moral integrity of the civilized state and thus bring into question the very nature of that state and its systems of justice, can have a therapeutic function and whether all forms of violence in the play can be considered pollution therapy.

Shakespeare's sharp critique of Roman civility draws liberally on a long tradition of critics of Roman morality, a tradition with which the English Renaissance held an easy familiarity. In particular, the play draws insistently on the classical models of Seneca and Ovid, both critical observers of Rome's imperial politics and expansionist encounters with "barbaric" cultures, and both literary explorers of what Gordon Braden calls the "recurrent, compulsive theme" of "imperial pathology": the lawless brutality and political voracity of Roman aristocracy.[25] The imperial history we derive from Latin literature of the first century is one of "radical incompetence . . . murderous caprice . . . paranoid logic and arbitrary cruelty that seem to precede and go beyond rational political calculation."[26] Like his literary predecessors, Shakespeare offers a critique of the founding myths of Western

European civilization, interrogating the uneasy cultural binary of civil and barbaric on which Roman imperialism is built: descriptions of the vicious barbarism of Aaron and the Goths are called into question by the savagery of the "civilized" Romans. Furthermore Rome's confrontation with, and treatment of, a barbaric culture—the catalyst for the play's bloody furor—stages issues crucial to an early modern Europe negotiating its own barbaric encounters.[27]

In *Titus*, constructions of the barbaric Other that rely on the cannibal distinction are seriously compromised by the savagery of the "civilized" Romans. The categorization of Aaron and Tamora as degenerate cannibals is produced by the regulatory discourse of barbarism in Roman society anchored in ideas of Roman cultural superiority, insecurity about Rome's political future, and Roman imperial practices. Both Aaron and Tamora are identified as barbarians with savage appetites—cannibalistic "enemies of Rome" (1.1.69). Aaron, "a barbarous Moor," is a "ravenous tiger" and an "accursed devil" (5.3.4–5), whose "raven-coloured" body's hue is 'spotted, detested, and abominable' " (2.3.73–83). That other "ravenous tiger" (5.3.194), Tamora queen of the "barbarous Goths" (1.1.28), is a "beastly creature" lacking in "grace" and "womanhood" (2.3.182) who, as final evidence of her depravity, gives birth to Aaron's child: "A joyless, dismal, black, and sorrowful issue. / . . . as loathsome as a toad / Amongst the fair-faced breeders of our clime" (4.2.66–68). In these racial constructs we have an illustration of what Emily C. Bartels identifies as an early conception of England's cross-cultural discourse, which "began to outline space and close off borders, to discriminate under the guise of discerning, and to separate the Other from the self."[28] Thus "barbarian" and "ravenous tiger" function not only as terms of distinction that imply inferiority, but also signify, within emerging European colonialist discourse, the savage, cannibal Other of the European imagination, which threatens civility.[29]

By drawing attention to these discursive practices, *Titus* reveals the instability of such constructed identities. While the Romans clearly situate themselves as superior to the Goths, Marcus's cautionary imperative to Titus, "Thou art a Roman, be not barbarous" (1.1.378), alerts us to the performative nature of a "civilized" Roman identity and to the fictional status of the barbarous/civilized distinction. Furthermore in a sweeping deconstructive move, Aaron appropriates the language of racial stereotyping by naming himself "a black dog, as the *saying* is" [my emphasis] (5.1.122), hereby exposing his identity as a construct of Western civilizing discourse. Although their actions are nefarious, both Aaron and Tamora merely

employ the disturbed situation they find in Rome—exhibitions of cruel and rapacious imperialism supported by a revenge logic that fuels perceptions of insult and dishonor—to their own advantage. In this world, any threat offered by the cannibal potential of Aaron and Tamora is immediately elided by the savage practices of the predacious "civilized" Roman state in its inexorable pursuit of "commonweal" (1.1.114).

The Rome of *Titus*, as many have argued, is a degenerating state, internally threatened by imperial conflicts, corruption, and ruthlessness. In order to naturalize an embattled political institution, Shakespeare resorts to a popular organic model of the source of dangerous cultural corruption: the female body.[30] The idea of Rome as a headless female with a greedy appetite is introduced early in the play in the image of the uterine tomb, the warehouse of Andronici sons: "O sacred receptacle of my joys," Titus laments, "sweet cell of virtue and nobility, / How many sons hast thou of mine in store, / That thou wilt never render to me more!" (1.1.192–195).[31] By popular request, the power to remedy this precarious state lies in Titus's hands; when he fails to "help to set a head on headless Rome" and make whole "her glorious body" (1.1.186–187), Rome deteriorates into the torments of "the civil wound" (5.3.86) and the "broken limbs" of a state spoiled by political furor (5.3.71). The alternative early modern English meaning of *headless* as "lacking in brains or intellect; senseless, stupid," is also relevant, especially given Titus's gradual descent into psychological limbo. Rome's affliction of the head is also the affliction of imperial insanity, and both sufferings must be cured.[32]

By representing Rome in corporeal terms, Shakespeare associates his political fiction with various discourses of the body, in particular medical discourse and its descriptions of bodily dissections and pollution therapeutics. Here he joins other contemporary political writers who, as Jonathan Gil Harris points out, transformed "the comparison between body and society into a highly sophisticated similitude informed by new developments in anatomical medicine and pathology."[33] In *Titus*, references to ingestible medicine, such as the need to "feed [Titus's] humour kindly as we may / Till time beget some careful remedy" (4.3.29–30); Tamora's desire to "feed [Titus's] brain-sick humours" (5.2.71); Lavinia as "the cordial of [Titus's] age" (1.1.166); Titus's hands as "with'red herbs" (3.1.178); and the "physic" Aaron gives to the Nurse (4.2.163), reinforce the dubious motif of healing that valorizes brutal revenge as the purgative for the ailing body politic.

The desire to heal Rome is underpinned by the heavy duty of caring for Rome: a task burdened with licensed killing and the resultant deconstruction and sacrifice of the civilized self. At the very beginning of the play, Titus is established as Rome's loyal caregiver, her "best champion" (1.1.65) who, having sacrificed almost his entire male lineage to "this cause of Rome," returns triumphant from "weary wars against the barbarous Goths" (1.1.28–32).[34] The killing sanctioned in war, Elaine Scarry has argued, is motivated by "care 'for the nation.'" The warrior, "in consenting to kill . . . consents to perform (for the country) the act that would in peacetime expose his unpoliticalness and place him outside the moral space of the nation." In this act of decivilizing himself, he "consents to . . . empty himself of civil content "for his country."[35] For "ten years" (1.1.31) Titus has divested himself of civilization in his obsessively dutiful ministration to the Roman body politic—returning five times "bleeding to Rome" (1.1.34), bearing the taint of violence in each return. The tragic root of the ensuing grisly events in *Titus* can be attributed, in part, to the state's failure to resolve the meaning of the deaths incurred in caring for Rome into social and political well-being.

In medical donor terms, the excessive sacrifice of family and self in order to heal Rome resembles the modern desire to give blood in times of national emergency, described in the epigraph above by Waldby and Mitchell. These writers identify this desire with "the bonds and obligations of citizenship and the defense of the nation."[36] In *Titus* too, we see the gift of the bodies of Titus's sons to repair ailing Rome caught up in beliefs and narratives about nation and belonging. However, in the play these bonds have been severely ruptured, and neither Titus nor his political rivals can, as Kirby Farrell has written, "convert the threat of pollution, instability, and nothingness into a source of fertility or productiveness: to make death yield heroic meaning that could sustain society."[37] Instead, though Rome is poised for prudent guidance and change—having defeated the Goths and captured their Queen—Titus further pollutes the *polis* by willfully sacrificing Alarbus, "the proudest prisoner of the Goths" (1.1.96), thus disregarding the boundary between sanctioned and unsanctioned killing and shattering Rome's fragile opportunity for renewal.

Ritual sacrifice is frequently employed to purge the community of pollutants, with the victim, or *pharmakos*, supposedly incorporating impurities. It is, according to Girard, "an act of violence inflicted on a surrogate victim . . . absorbing all the internal tensions, feuds and rivalries pent up within the community." Furthermore, the sacrificial

process functions to "prevent the spread of violence by keeping vengeance in check."[38] However, in the performance of "Roman rites" (1.1.143), the gruesome sacrifice of Alarbus lacks any clear communal efficacy—even as a means of ridding Rome of a dangerous, foreign pollutant—functioning instead as a rather puerile personal revenge rite to punish the Goths for the host of Andronici sons slain in war, as Lucius ruthlessly makes clear:

> [H]ew his limbs, and on a pile
> *Ad manes fratrum* sacrifice his flesh
> .....
> That so the shadows be not unappeased
> Nor we disturbed with prodigies on earth.
> .....
> ...make a fire straight,
> And with our swords upon a pile of wood
> Let's hew his limbs till they be clean consumed. (1.1.97–129)

The violation and consumption of the body of Alarbus as a remedy for Andronici suffering reveals the true nature of Roman sacrificial ritual as arbitrary and murderous. The sacrifice of Alarbus, against which no Roman voice is raised, attests to the personal vindictiveness of imperial rule, which squashes any careful political reasoning and breaches the rules of peace and civility. Any purifying potential of the "entrails [that] feed the sacrificing fire / Whose smoke like incense doth perfume the sky" (1.1.144–145), is overwhelmed by the contaminating heinousness of this crime. The figurative terms of eating—*feed* and *consumed*—and pollution therapy, which construct Alarbus's corpse as both food and prophylactic, signal the complex relation between corpse therapy and eating on which the play revolves. In these terms, in this process of calcination, Alarbus as the sacrificial pharmakos is reduced to a powdered quintessence, a pure form of the ingestible mummy pharmakon so highly prized in the Paracelsian pharmacy—after all, the main ingredient is consistent with the requirement for a healthy body that died of an unnatural, violent cause. Moreover, in classical Greek, the pharmakon has the dual function of remedy and poison; here the pharmakos/n does not heal, but fouls the atmosphere with the uncontrollable urge for revenge.[39]

The harsh irony of such corruption, operating alongside the rhetoric of political benevolence—"kind Rome" (1.1.165)—is not, of course, lost on Tamora, her sons, or Aaron, who each experience first-hand Rome's brutal theocracy and see clearly the barbarous nature of "Pius" Andronicus (1.1.23) and "ambitious Rome"

as "cruel, irreligious piety" (1.1.130–132). Titus's careless dismissal of Tamora's well-reasoned pleas for Alarbus's life—which express the dual anguish of a mother and an imprisoned Queen—shows a fatal lack of political expediency that exposes Rome to vengeance from within.[40] Tamora, now "incorporate in Rome" (1.1.462) and brutally indoctrinated into the Roman way, reveals herself as a skillful student of the revenge logic upholding Roman honor. When Saturninus challenges her: "What, madam, be dishonoured openly, / And basely put it up without revenge?" (1.1.432–133). Her response is inevitable:

> I'll find a day to massacre them all
> And Raze their faction and their family,
> The cruel father and his traitorous sons,
> To whom I sued for my dear son's life. (1.1.450–153)

It is vividly apparent in these words that Tamora's pain, humiliation, and fury are channeled into a cool, calculating vengeance which, in the absence of any judicial "curative" procedures—a form of victim recompense designed to aleviate the desire for revenge—is released in a cataclysmic cycle of polluting violence as the Goths pursue their own brutal justice on the Andronici.[41]

Suffering what Michael Neill has described as "the terrible frenzies of the revenger," Aaron's declaration that "Vengeance is in my heart, death in my hand, / Blood and revenge are hammering in my head" (2.3.38–39) forms a dangerous harmony with Tamora's "sacred wit" that is "to villainy and vengeance consecrate" (2.1.120–121).[42] The Goths are psychologically tormented by their need to remedy the painful loss of Alarbus by destroying the particularly virulent strain of Andronici violence. To this end the brutalized bodies of Lavinia, Bassianus, Quintus, and Martius are deployed in the savage process of cleansing that Aaron outlines to Tamora: "Thy sons make pillage of her chastity, / And wash their hands in Bassianus's blood" (2.3.44–45); abominable violence is returned with even more abominable violence. Aaron's calculated revenge plot, in which Lavinia is the central sacrificial scapegoat for Andronici corruption, cleverly implicates the others, sweeping them up in its destructive force.[43]

In the bloody scene of Bassianus's murder, the rhetoric of cannibalism comes powerfully together with the defining motif of pollution therapy in a complex staging of the corpse as consumable flesh—preempting the cannibalistic moment toward which the play is building. Here the links between barbarism and eating are explicit, expanding on what was only hinted at in the description of Alarbus's

sacrifice and the "consuming fire." The brutal killing of Bassianus attests to the mimetic nature of revenge, and this act of reciprocal violence both answers and exceeds the sacrifice of Alarbus in several crucial ways. First, Bassianus's death is not a communal ritual of purification; rather, he is, like Alarbus, a revenge substitute in a cycle of purging one death with another. Second, while the ritualized severing and burning of Alarbus's limbs and entrails glance at the culinary, Bassianus's bloody body is explicitly reduced to a butchered carcass of edible flesh—"like to a slaughtered lamb" (2.3.223). Third, the significance of the flesh-eating fire that feeds on Alarbus's corpse is powerfully developed in the starkly cannibalistic nature of the "blood-drinking," "devouring," "swallowing" pit (2.3.224–239) into which Bassianus's corpse is thrown.

Furthermore, Quintus and Martius's curious inspections of the bloody pit perform a disquieting link between the play's explicit language of cannibalism and savage acts of butchery at this point, and early modern anatomies. Also entrapped in Aaron's brutal plan, Quintus and Martius peer into and explore the "subtle hole . . . / Whose mouth is covered with rude-growing briers / Upon whose leaves are drops of new-shed blood" (2.3.198–200). The comically grotesque voyeurism of this scene strikes an odd resemblance to the behavior of an early modern anatomist gazing into a body's interior. In public dissections, executed corpses—often headed for preservation and ingestion as a pharmacological ingredient—were processed in the quest for epistemological mastery of the body's mysterious internal motions.[44] Displaying the morbid curiosity of an anatomist, Martius, having plummeted into the earthen "womb" (2.3.239) of Rome, inspects the interior recesses of the gaping "bloodstained hole" (2.3.210) to discover its gory secrets: the "ragged entrails of this pit" (2.3.230).[45]

The blood of revenge—dripping, staining, polluting, horrifying, though seductively fascinating—flows frequently and spectacularly throughout the play. To the early modern medical understanding, blood was a complex, viscous fluid with powerful pharmacological significations. When drunk, it was believed to have an extraordinary healing function, possessing what Camporesi describes as "regenerative virtue and salvific power . . . miraculous and divine, for the doing of deeds wondrous and grand, which all but raise the dead."[46] But blood was also, as Gail Kern Paster argues, "a discursive site of multiple, competing, even self-contradictory meanings."[47] So, not all bloody flows have positive connotations. According to Girard, blood spilled violently is imbued with the same polluting properties as the

violence: "Its very fluidity gives form to the contagious nature of violence."[48] In particular, women's blood, with its connotations of impurity and superfluity, was perceived as corrupted and therefore polluting. In fact, the traditional conception of the essential condition of womanhood itself, in a constant cycle of excremental overflowing and forever at risk from "pollution by rape," necessitates impurity.[49] Further, there is a clear connection between the blood of violence and the blood of female sexuality: ironically, menstrual blood is frequently comprehended as a physical representation of sexual violence.[50]

The connection between women, menstrual blood, sexuality, and violence—which can be understood as a barely suppressed desire to blame all forms of violence on women[51]—helps to illuminate the incomprehensible treatment of Lavinia in the play. Her horrific rape and dismemberment, a drastic departure from the revenge murders of the men, make Lavinia's very femaleness the scapegoat for Andronici violence. Lavinia's troubling womanhood—itself a paradoxical identity that presupposes her as not only a sexually available object of masculine desire, but also, because of her intrinsically polluted condition, as an object of masculine contempt—makes her the enigmatic central figure of reciprocal violence in the play. When Demitrius and Chiron plot Lavinia's rape—and thus her sexual pollution—her womanhood, already understood as a flawed and tainted thing, not only justifies this planned violation but, in an extraordinary example of misogynistic logic, makes her somehow responsible for their actions: "She is a woman, therefore may be woo'd, / She is a woman, therefore may be won, / She is Lavinia, therefore must be loved" (2.1.82–84).

But for Demitrius and Chiron, wooing, winning, and loving signify rape, vindicated by what Demitrius describes as Lavinia's partly consumed, and therefore polluted, married state. As a wife, she is spoiled goods—"a cut loaf" from whose body it is easy to "steal a shive" (2.1.87). Lavinia is food, bread to be "snatch[ed]" (2.1.95) and forcibly putrified: "enforced, stained, and deflowered" (5.3.38). In the constant rhetorical jostling of cannibalism and corpse therapeutics in the play, this reference to Lavinia's body as sliced food not only predicts the dismemberment that follows her rape but also offers Lavinia, like Alarbus and Bassianus, as edible flesh and dubious remedy.

The bloody staging of the polluted and polluting Lavinia affords a powerful vision of the complex investment in violated bodies in which the play is implicated. Raped, dismembered, tongueless, and hemorrhaging—though still alive—Lavinia's body is at once the site of violent pollution and the source for that profound bloody elixir,

rich with contradictory significations, that saturates the Roman earth. Marcus's remarkably graphic *blason anatomique* describes to Lavinia how her

> crimson river of warm blood,
> Like to a bubbling fountain stirr'd with wind,
> Doth rise and fall between thy rosed lips,
> Coming and going with thy honey breath.
> But sure some Tereus hath deflowered thee,
> And, lest thou shouldst detect him, cut thy tongue. (2.4.22–27)

The use of the word *river* with its alternative meaning "course" has important semiotic implications here. Meaning "flow" or "flux," *courses* is frequently used in early modern English as an alternative to *menses*.[52] Lavinia, who has already been constructed as "the stream" that will "cool" Demetrius's sexual "heat" (2.1.133–134), presents a spectacle of female bodily flow—a potent, potentially purifying "cordial" (1.1.166) gushing forth "as from a conduit with three issuing spouts" (2.4.30) into the contaminated atmosphere.[53]

The motif of the tongueless, and hence permanently silenced, female body is not new to literature. As many critics have noted, in his depiction of the removal of Lavinia's tongue Shakespeare draws on the tale of the violation of Philomela by Tereus in Ovid's *Metamorphoses*. But this mode of representation is not only present in the revenge genre. Like the motif of revenge cannibalism on which *Titus* turns that is, as I argue above, an image that recurs throughout literary history, the motif of the tongueless or tongue-tied woman is also a recurring motif that functions to silence women and thus disempower them, taking away their identity. This is a powerful image of female silencing that also occurred in popular culture. For example, a representation of the tongueless girl appears in a chapbook of 1606 that tells the story of *Dell's Case*—a tale of prosecution for murder and dismemberment. In this case, Annis Dell and her son murder a young boy and silence his sister by cutting out her tongue and abandoning her to die in a "seldome frequented" wood. The highlight of the story is that the girl miraculously survives and is found four years later, wandering. At this time her speech returns and she is able to relate her story and thus bring the perpetrators to justice, even though close inspection of her mouth revealed "not so much as the stumpe of a tongue therein."[54]

Veracity of this story aside, the image of the tongueless woman in a pamphlet destined for a popular audience speaks not only of the

portability of certain motifs for lending expression to a range of cultural concerns but also to the cultural familiarity with these motifs and their expressive effectiveness in new contexts—in this instance a judicial context. While the representation of the tongueless girl in the pamphlet serves a sensationalistic purpose, it also demonstrates the depths of criminal depravity and—through the restoration of the girl's speech—the right punishment of the offenders according to the legal principles of retributive justice. There is an uncanny similarity in these two iterations of tongueless women, but one crucial difference: in the instance of the chapbook story, justice is served; in the case of Lavinia, justice fails.

The spectacle of tongueless Lavinia is indeed a questionable metaphor for catharsis and healing; nonetheless, in the light of pollution therapy, the pharmacological power of the defiled and dangerously hemorrhaging woman becomes intelligible.[55] Von Staden notes that the belief that menstrual blood can produce negative phenomena operates alongside the belief that it also has "considerable agricultural and medicinal power.... Menses thus can destroy beneficially or harmfully, can save or kill, can pollute or purify." Therefore, he argues:

> It should not be overlooked that some of the very words used of ritual purification from pollution—*katharis, kathairo*, and their cognates—are used extensively as early as the Hippocratic writings to refer to menstruation: to that monthly catharsis, it seems, of uterine impurities that is essential... to the reproduction of the *polis*.[56]

Lavinia's ambiguously coded body and bloody flows take on the impossible burden of cleansing a polis defiled by Andronici crime in order to create, and guarantee the continuation of, a political state desirable to the Goths.[57] However, in the play's atmosphere of unstoppable violence, for which a cure becomes increasingly unlikely, the reproductive, cathartic potential of women is denied. Instead, the horrific nature of Lavinia's violation rejects the efficacy of any remedial measure and gives destructive power to the belief that menstrual blood can produce negative phenomena, can pollute rather than purify. The tragic violence escalates—analogous, according to Titus, to adding "water to the sea" and bringing "a faggot to bright-burning Troy" (3.1.68–69).

As the violent momentum shifts to a new level of horror, a darkly comic onstage moment that plays to the audience's familiarity with dubious medical practices relieves the tension. The brutal

dismemberment of Lavinia relates to one of the major concerns of the Barber-Surgeons' Company—the unlicensed practice of surgery by unskilled barbers. In fact, Aaron's description of Lavinia's butchering is couched in the language of barbering: "Why, she was washed and cut and trimmed, / And 'twas trim sport for them which had the doing of it" (5.1.95–96). Lucius, picking up on the punning significance of Aaron's words replies, "O barbarous, beastly villains like thyself!" (5.1.97)—reflecting the uncanny slippage between barbarism and the medical treatment of corpses that the play persistently negotiates. The fact that the First Quarto of *Titus* uses the term *barberous* is crucial. John Dover Wilson raises the issue of a play on the word, asking, "Is a pun intended?" Alan Hughes seems to think not, arguing that "It is conceivable that Q 'barberous' was intended as a ghastly pun .... an actor could not well distinguish between the vowels in 'barbarous' and 'barberous' without making the moment ludicrous; thus, the pun is probably a compositor's error."[58] But what if this moment is *meant* to be ludicrous, and deliberately deploys humor to deconstruct dramatic and moral conventions and highlight complex cultural paradoxes?[59] In this passage the pun on "barberous/barbarous" is open to multiple interpretations—regardless of linguistic inflections—playing on the normal activities of barbery (washing, cutting, and trimming) but also on the more violent, surgical treatment of human bodies with which barbers, who frequently transgressed their barbering roles, were associated.

Cultural concerns about the physical dangers of barbers practicing as surgeons complicate and enrich the semantic implications of "barberous/barbarous," making the term ripe for innuendo and punning. The savage and macabre butchery of Lavinia suggests the frequent acts of surgical barbarity and unethical practices by unlicensed and unskilled barbers. Charges were frequently laid against those barbers who performed surgery on

> sick and wounded persons whereby the sick were often worse off at their departure than at their incoming, and on account of the unskillfulness of these barbers were often times maimed to the scandal of the skilled and the manifest harm of the people of our Lord the King.[60]

In an effort to improve and control surgical standards, an Act of Parliament forbade surgeons from practicing barbery and barbers from practicing surgery, except for drawing teeth.[61] The Act did not, however, resolve the issue and surgeons were continually being called before the Court for "evil dealing," and barbers, as well as

other unskilled and fraudulent surgeons, continued to butcher their patients.[62]

In a "logic of outdoing," wherein Titus will "o'erreach them in their own devices" (5.2.143), retribution and healing form a devastating cannibal alliance when revenge is fully unleashed on the Goths: Chiron and Dimitrius are decapitated and their bodies violently transformed into the main dish of culinary vengeance wreaked on Tamora.[63] Tamora's unwitting act of pedophagy stages the cannibal denouement toward which the the play's insistent juggling of figurative language and insatiable appetite for revenge have been heading.[64] The moment when Titus takes exact revenge for his losses by tricking Tamora into "eating the flesh that she herself hath bred" (5.3.61) is probably the most significant in the play. Although the desire for revenge drives this gruesome trick, the competing motive—"for peace, for love, for league, and good to Rome" (5.3.23)—underscores the grim therapeutic intention of the banquet. As recycled matter, Chiron and Dimitrius form the polluting corpse drugs of Titus's corrective; not only the blood and flesh of revenge, but the crucial ingredients of early modern pharmacology are deployed for the health of Rome.[65] In a graphic reenactment of collecting and drinking the salubrious, recently shed blood of gladiators and executed criminals (discussed in chapter 1), Lavinia holds up a basin to receive the Goths' blood (5.2.183 and 197).[66]

Furthermore, when Titus demands, "Now prepare your throats" (5.2.196), the full horror of this scene is arrested for the audience by the comic force of the "barberous/barbarous" pun, which plays a familiar medical concern for laughs. Having performed the grisly dual role of executioner and anatomist, Titus now becomes the apothecary/surgeon, revealing his own recipe for "mummy": "Let me grind their bones to powder small, / And with this hateful liquor temper it, / And in that paste let their vile heads be baked" (5.2.198–200). The simples Titus uses suggest the blood, bone, marrow, and cranium frequently advocated in early modern pharmacopoeia, and his recipe parodies popular therapeutic prescriptions for diseases of the head such as epilepsy, as well as the method of preparing mummy in the oven described earlier.[67] The medical idiom Titus deploys here also provided other writers with effective imagery for representing dubious forms of retributive justice. For example, in John Webster's *The White Devil*, Flamineo's revenge is couched as a threat to "compound a medicine out of their two heads, stronger than garlic, deadlier than stibium; the cantharides which are scarce seen to stick upon the flesh when they work to the heart, shall not do it with more

silence of invisible cunning."[68] By engaging this imagery in representations of revenge, Shakespeare and Webster draw attention not only to the fact that retributive justice and corpse pharmacology are deeply connected, but also to the slippage between the medical and culinary ingestion of human bodies. In this scenario, Titus's recipe for preparing heads exposes corpse therapy as a form of cannibalism.

"So now bring them in, for I'll play the cook," quips Titus humorously as he exits with the corpses to an off-stage space of dismemberment, grinding, and baking (5.2.204). The comic relief points to another similar space in which the conflicting functions of the dissection of human corpses and the preparation of food collide. Until 1632, dissections were performed in the kitchen of the Barber-Surgeons' Hall; however, this transgressed in a rather troubling way the proper function of the kitchen, particularly given the tradition that a special dinner was enjoyed after each anatomical demonstration. In 1632, an urgent demand was made for a special anatomy theater to rectify the situation whereby

> hitherto those bodies have beene a greate annoyance to the tables dresser boardes and utensills in our upper Kitchin by reason of the blood filth and entrailes of those Anathomyes and for the better accomodateing of those anatomicall affaires and preserveing the Kitchin to its owne proper use.[69]

Titus's "kitchen" gives form to the fears that underpin the Barber-Surgeons' concerns: that anatomized bodies might end up in today's dinner. Here, the distinction between the pharmacological and the culinary becomes impossible to sustain and the boundary between the therapeutic and culinary consumption of human flesh collapses.[70]

At the banquet, the murderous course of revenge escalates into the multiple killings of Lavinia, Titus, Tamora, and Saturninus—a process of elimination that ensures Rome's "re-capitation" when Lucius is proclaimed "Rome's royal emperor" and "gracious governor" (5.3.140 and 145) and it appears that Marcus's resurrective dream, to "teach [Rome] how to knit again / This scattered corn into one mutual sheaf, / These broken limbs again into one body" (5.3.69–-71) may be possible. The incongruity of Lucius's proclamation to "heal Rome's harms, and wipe away her woe!" (5.3.147) is manifest in the curiously androgynous figure of his male head atop the play's dominant corporeal image: the female body of Rome, trapped in a bloody cycle. As head, the onus is on Lucius to ensure social and political well-being; however, in spite of Marcus's vision

of "re-membering," we are left with the sense that this triumph, gained through bloody revenge and rivalry, will continue to have tragic consequences. Lucius represents a continuation of the old order, and any hope that Rome may learn and benefit from these events is jeopardized by ruthless ambition and a moral outrage that makes Aaron, as the "Chief architect and plotter of these woes" (5.3.121), the scapegoat. While Aaron's death represents an attempt to disinfect the body of Rome, the governing logic of revenge is present in the demand that Aaron must "be adjudged some direful slaught'ring death / As punishment for his most wicked life" (5.3.143–144).

In sacrificial terms, Aaron, albeit not blameless, becomes the surrogate victim—another form of pharmakos—for the play's cycle of revenge. Aaron's death is meant to absorb ("wipe away") the contamination of a Rome blind, in this moment of swaggering Andronici triumph, to its own self-destructive imperial pathology. Ironically, Lucius's orders to "set him breast-deep in earth and famish him; / There let him stand and rave and cry for food" (5.3.178–179) can be seen as a starving of the "ravenous tiger" in order to assuage Rome's own voracious desire for revenge. In early modern pharmacological terms, the arid, shifting sands of Aaron's torment—earlier Titus describes how the "angry northern wind / Will blow these sands" (4.1.104–105)—resemble the desert landscape in which the highly prized mummy substance is preserved: "torrified under the Sand, by the Heat of the Sun."[71] Aaron, the polluting cannibal threat, will slowly leach the residual violence of Rome's therapy into the Roman soil, providing a double-edged *pharmakon*—Is he remedy or poison, purifier or pollutant?—for a Roman state sustained by revenge. If we understand Rome's entrapment in a cycle of contaminating revenge as a form of addiction, then Aaron's end as an ingestible substance of revenge, like the ends of other bodies in the play, fatally stages the multiple significations of Lucius's words: "This is our doom" (5.3.181).

The world of *Titus*, the characters and their actions provide insight to the "polluting beastliness" of the "swinish times" in which the play is produced. In this way, Shakespeare seeks to make sense of aspects of his own culture that would have resonated with his theater audience, mediated through the lens of his classical literary heritage. The play's staging of bodily mutilation and cannibalism as forms of justice provides a way to think about the civilized state and its systems of justice in light of how bodies are punished. The elaborate rhetorical juggling of corpse pharmacology, bodily

violations, and revenge cannibalism in the play is an inevitable consequence of a culture in which the medical consumption of bodies and the judicial punishment of bodies—rationalized as retributive justice—are profoundly implicated in one another. The words of Hieronimo from *The Spanish Tragedy,* "For here's no justice.... / For justice is exiled from the earth,"[72] serve as an apt summation of what the audience is left with at the end of *Titus.* The political corruption and the vicious cycle of revenge justice that infects Rome is not eradicated, but lies momentarily dormant ready to erupt at any time in the name of ruthless personal ambition and political expediency. Certainly, there must have been some sense of harsh realism in this for the play's London audience who were surrounded by what Stephen Greenblatt describes as "the endless, grim spectacles of penal justice"[73]—spectacles performed for the "moral health" of the nation.

In many ways, the medicalized corpse provides Shakespeare with an emblematic figure through which to explore the role of the individual and the community in cruel and unjust times to the point that there is no escape. The revenge economy in *Titus* is one of pessimism and loss. Although the play depicts an attempt to remedy a body politic that is pathologically violent, in the end, all of the sacrifices fail to result in a new social contract for Rome. Rather, there is no end in sight to the unproductive, relentless circulation of bodies. Of course, this is partly due to the revenge tragedy genre itself and its inability to envision a narrative of recovery that is evident in, for example, the period's new genres of romantic prose fiction or tragicomedy. In fact, it is feasible that these new genres developed to provide a creative space to do what revenge tragedy, and its preoccupation with loss, is unable to do: mediate the economic challenges of the time and, as Dorothy Forman in her discussion of tragicomedy succinctly puts it, "reimagine losses as fortunate events."[74]

In the next chapter, I look at the works of Thomas Nashe, and John Fletcher and Philip Massinger, writers who experimented enthusiastically with prose fiction and tragicomedy and the possibilities these genres presented for engaging economic theories and practices. As I argue in the introduction, in the early stages of industrial capitalism in early modern England, the fragmented medical corpse was a valuable commodity that circulated in a competitive market. In the next chapter, I show how, in *The Unfortunate Traveller* and *The Sea Voyage*, the authors deploy the rhetorical possibilities of the commodified corpse to reconfigure economic concerns and practices.

The works of these writers coincided with a period marked by intense economic challenges. As Forman explains,

> In the closing decades of the sixteenth century and the opening decades of the early seventeenth, England was radically expanding its participation in an economy that was itself becoming increasingly global.... Fewer than twenty years later, just as that radical increase was really getting under way, England was suffering from an economic depression, blamed largely on the shortage of coin necessary to conduct those same very profitable trades.[75]

Concerns and debates about issues such as foreign trade, economic risk management, the shortage of coin, and the potential for corruption produced the narratives of risk and recovery that we see in *The Unfortunate Traveller* and *The Sea Voyage*. The human body as tradable product provides the perfect lens through which to explore the "cannibalistic" aspects of economic practice: avarice, usury, fetishization of gold, and fear of loss. And like other commentators, such as Michel de Montaigne, who engage with the cannibalistic behaviors of the Europeans, these writers look to geographically distant shores in order to reflect upon unpalatable European practices.

Chapter 3

Flesh Economies in Foreign Worlds: *The Unfortunate Traveller* and *The Sea Voyage*

Bromley:
Oh I could with my nailes turn'd Vultures talons,
That I might teare their flesh in mammocks, raise
My losses from their carcases turn'd Mummy.

S.S., *The Honest Lawyer*[1]

Ferdinand:
I will stamp him into a cullis, flay off his skin, to cover one of the anatomies this rogue hath set I' th' cold yonder in Barber-Surgeons' Hall.

John Webster, *The Duchess of Malfi*[2]

A commodity is, in the first place, an object outside us, a thing that by its properties satisfies human wants of some sort or another. The nature of such wants, whether, for instance, they spring from the stomach or from fancy, makes no difference. Neither are we concerned to know how the object satisfies these wants, whether directly as means of subsistence, or indirectly as means of production.

Karl Marx, *Capital: A Critique of Political Economy*[3]

Whether or not corpse pharmacology is a form of early modern cannibalism, considerations of the body as a consumable commodity

inevitably give rise to metaphors of cannibalism that tap into a complex set of cultural meanings. As I.M. Lewis argues, "The ideology of man-eating provides a pregnant cluster of imagery and metaphor to express the exercise and experience of power, domination and subjection which may be realized in different forms in particular historical and cultural contexts."[4] It is logical then that the fertile figurative constellation of bodies, appetites, exchanges, and consumptions produced by the medical trade in corpses should generate notions of cannibalism, and be enthusiastically embraced by writers such as Thomas Nashe, John Fletcher, and Philip Massinger.[5] This chapter explores the representations of bodies as consumable commodities in the Dr. Zachary episode in Nashe's novella, *The Unfortunate Traveller*, and in Fletcher and Massinger's tragicomedy, *The Sea Voyage*.[6] The idea of cannibalism has the potential to disturb the sediments of fear, belief, need, and bodily desires related to food, sex, love, and religion. Thus, figurations of the violated and ingested pharmacological corpse are elastic and frequently transcend the medical realm to suggest other bodily concerns and engagements. Fantasies of corpse pharmacology in these works resonate with these multilayered associations, in particular their erotic and spiritual suggestiveness. The task here is to attempt to tease out the significations of cannibalism associated with the corpse pharmacology market that these texts mediate.

In many ways, what unites these writers is their enactment of broader European engagements with cannibalism, in particular those of commentators such as Hans Staden, André Thevet, and Jean de Léry, whose detailed accounts of Brazilian cannibalism provide a mirror for reflecting European practices and are finessed by Michel de Montaigne in his essay "On Cannibals."[7] Montaigne's essay purports to provide a case study of a cannibal practice that is situated spatially and temporally outside of Europe—in that exotic, distant "other world," the "vast . . . country" of the Brazilian Tupinambas—where it is portrayed as comprehensible, admirable even, "as a measure of extreme vengeance," in comparison to parallel incomprehensible European behaviors.[8] Yet ultimately, "On Cannibals" makes no real pretense at ethnography; rather, the practice of cannibalism is elided by discourse, which has the effect, as Frank Lestringant points out, of raising the Brazilian cannibal "to the status of an orator and philosopher, a free and fraternal citizen of a back-to-nature utopia: as such, he no longer provokes horror." The cannibal act is thus stripped of "the stigma of the flesh."[9] In these terms, Brazilian cannibalism is a logical, ritualized, socially beneficial practice that is ordered and contained. Montaigne makes several deft rhetorical moves to line up

this noble form of cannibalism with consumptions of human bodies by Europeans in certain justifiable circumstances, such as eating the dead in times of siege and the medical use of the human corpse "in any way that serves our health." These deployments of corporeal matter are acceptable because "there [is] no harm in using a dead body for any need of our own." Against these benign forms of cannibalism, acts of European savagery in the religious wars, fueled by "treachery, disloyalty, tyranny, and cruelty," become the index of barbarity.[10] Montaigne's trump card is the frequently quoted passage that reinforces his logic:

> I consider it more barbarous to eat a man alive than to eat him dead; to tear by rack and torture a body still full of feeling, to roast it by degrees, and then give it to be trampled and eaten by dogs and swine—a recent memory, not between ancient enemies, but between neighbours and fellow-citizens and, what is worse, under the cloak of piety and religion—than to roast and eat a man after he is dead.[11]

This then is the true cannibal savagery of the times. In Montaigne's cannibal hermeneutics, savagery is no longer rhetorically or symbolically consigned to strange and distant shores; rather, it is situated firmly in a familiar European time and space, the recent massacres and butcheries of Huguenots by Catholics in the French religious wars.[12]

Montaigne's essay attempts to exclude the medical use of corpses from this space, clearly a rhetorical move that stresses the issue at the heart of the essay: the recent barbarity in the name of religion, which is for Montaigne the height of human savagery. However, even though Montaigne downplays some forms of European cannibalistic eating as benign, his essay does consider these practices through the lens of cannibalism, and corpse pharmacology is one of these. Montaigne has more in his sights than decrying religious savagery. In his disgust at those who would "eat a man alive," Montaigne also draws attention to the parasitic nature of his age in which, as Crystal Bartolovich points out, "the conditions of possibility for the industrial capitalism which Marx decries in *Capital* are emerging." Approximately four hundred years later, Bartolovich reminds us, Karl Marx takes Montaigne's figuration further when he describes "capital . . . [as] . . . a vampire, werewolf, or parasite, who continuously feeds off a living worker."[13] Tupinamba cannibalism provides a mirror in which Montaigne critically reflects avaricious appetites of certain members of his own society who are "gorged to the full with things of every sort while their

other halves [are] beggars at their doors, emaciated with hunger and poverty."[14] The early modern medical trade in corpses sits squarely within this symbolic and discursive space of cannibalistic and parasitic European practices and consumptions that Montaigne describes. By identifying the link between Montaigne and Marx, Bartolovich draws attention to the persistent ability—since early capitalism—of questionable European activities to inspire metaphors of cannibalism. This is most obvious, as this chapter reveals, in the rhetorical history that describes the medical use of bodies, and clearly continues today to produce such compelling figurations as Scheper-Hughes's "late modern cannibalism."[15]

"A Trade beyond comparison," in which anatomists attack "Carkasses like Cannibals" is how Gideon Harvey describes the medical exploitation of human bodies in his age in his scathing critique of the "business" of anatomy.[16] Yet his words resonate for us in the twenty-first century, and there is a clear similarity between Harvey's concerns and those voiced today about what happens to bodies in the global body market. Scheper-Hughes argues that in today's transnational traffic in human organs "the body is generally viewed and treated as an object, albeit a highly fetishized one, and as a 'commodity' that can be bartered, sold or stolen in divisible and alienable parts." This economy is driven by dynamics of desire, need, and scarcity—frequently "invented needs" and "artificial scarcity."[17] As my study shows, this medical economy has a long history, and the words of Scheper-Hughes could easily be applied to the early modern health care economy with its demands for the human body, its excretions, and its parts.

While medicine in early modern England seems a far cry from the high-stakes global industry it is today, the use of the term *medical market* to describe the commercialization of corpses is apt. In their work, Mark S.R. Jenner and Patrick Wallis question the appropriateness of this term for describing general health care in early modern England and suggest that "historians should in future think of the *markets* for medical goods and services rather than a generalized image of the medical market or marketplace."[18] This is a useful distinction and one that serves the purpose of this chapter. Within a complex system, the human body circulated in a specific network of market relations. This is a network of frequently competing interests, wherein the body as commodity is both an object and a symbol, and its significations as matter and as metaphor are in a constant state of economic and rhetorical negotiation. In a medical arena in which distinct roles were blurred, not only physicians, surgeons, and apothecaries, but also folk

medicine practitioners and patients competed as procurers, traders, manufacturers, and consumers of the human body in various forms.[19] This blurring of medical roles and interests gave the human body currency as a consumable item in a competitive market driven by different needs.[20] Arjun Appadurai argues that the "commodity candidacy" of things is a conceptual feature that is dynamic and dependent on varying perceptions of the exchange value of objects.[21] The early modern medical market, in which the exchangeable value of the human body varied according to circumstances and needs, provided a versatile metaphorical resource for writers attempting to respond to a perplexing range of social appetites and transgressions.

The practice and discourse of corpse pharmacology, which at times must have appeared to the early modernists as stranger than fiction, supplies a tantalizing spectrum of imagery representing a whole slew of bodily engagements and relations. The previously quoted words of Rollyard, "make Mummy of my flesh, and sell me to the Apothecaries," illustrate its usefulness for writers. This is certainly the case in a work such as John Ford's *'Tis Pity She's a Whore*, in which representations of the human body and its parts as fetishized sources of corporeal capital engage with what Derek Roper identifies as the "behaviour of corruption, lurid activities, violence, murder, political manipulation, and incest" emanating from the court of James I.[22] Although we can identify several competing economies in the play, when Giovanni enters, flourishing Annabella's heart upon his dagger, and taunts Soranzo with the words, "I digged for food / In a much richer mine than gold or stone /. . . 'Tis a heart, /. . . which was thy wife's; / Thus I exchange it royally for thine,"[23] he evokes the material and symbolic processes of commodification in the medical corpse trade. For Giovanni, Annabella's heart is at once consumable merchandise and symbol, poised for circulation in the volatile revenge business of the play. Here, the heart—metonymically suggesting the whole body—evokes the shifting tastes and desires of the early modern medical economy for corporeal matter.

We see this idea of the body as a complex commodity in the repeated representations of bodies as desirable, exchangeable and consumable matter in *The Unfortunate Traveller* and *The Sea Voyage*. The figurative jostling of the body as a commodity or symbol in each text registers the full gamut of medical market possibilities wherein the exchangeable value of the human body depends on perception and need. I am particularly interested here in the way that these texts both look to cannibalistic European behaviors for useful imagery with which to mediate preoccupations with contemporary practices,

as is evident in "On Cannibals." In its rhetorical multifariousness, *The Unfortunate Traveller* both absorbs and defies the confusion of competing discourses circulating in England in Nashe's day, seizing on the metaphorical possibilities offered depending on the shifts and turns of the narrative. What is consistent in the text, however, is that its profligate nature is consistent with the buoyant economic climate of its time. As Lorna Hutson notes, Nashe's excessive outcomes "seem to depend on an exploitation of physical and bodily resources."[24] The Dr. Zachary scene under discussion is a good example of this because it engages medical economic practices in the figures of Dr. Zachary as the ruthless purveyor and dissector of bodies and Jack Wilton as the commodified and fetishized victim in a lucrative medical flesh market. *The Sea Voyage*, on the other hand, is a product of a period of English economic depression. In the play, the fears and challenges of Protestant Jacobean society in the face of loss and uncertainty, increased globalization, and the scarcity of gold are mediated through the construction of human flesh—in both its religious and medical understandings—as meat: an essential and highly desirable commodity that offers an alternative to gold in a new economy.

Although their preoccupations are at times quite different and they were produced twenty-eight years apart, there are important similarities between these two texts. As in "On Cannibals," the treatment of bodies in each is played out against a geographically distant backdrop creating an illusory spatial and, at times, temporal distance to represent as cannibalistic the appetites and preoccupations of the English world—and more broadly, the European world. Moreover, each text pauses self-reflexively on the relationship between history and narrative and the ability of texts to shape versions of history. When Jack reaches Rome, he demands to "be the historiographer of my own misfortunes, and not meddle with the continued trophies of so old a triumphing city."[25] In *The Sea Voyage*, a play that begins with no historical background, the repeated references to past narratives—"I have read in stories …" (3.1.99), and "the stories of mens miseries" (1.3.9)—combine with the construction of a new narrative—"this sad story" (1.4.162)—to highlight the fact that different versions of history are bound up in the stories we tell ourselves. Thus, like Montaigne's work, in their mediations of contemporary concerns and revisions of historical narratives, *The Unfortunate Traveller* and *The Sea Voyage* each participate in constructing a version of history. However, the two texts part company not only in terms of genre and the different formal engagements possible with prose fiction and tragicomedy, but also in terms of the metaphorical constitutions of

corpse pharmacology deployed to effectively convey the preoccupations of each text.

In the previous chapter, I set out the relationship between practice and experience, and genre—between the judicial and medical treatment of bodies, and the revenge tragedy play. Here, I am interested in how the two different experimental genres of prose fiction and tragicomedy—each with a very distinct imagined audience, mediate the practice of the medical trade in bodies and the cannibalistic implications of that trade. One way of thinking about these genres is in terms of seeing their development as a response to contemporary economic issues and practices. In her discussion of tragicomedy, Valerie Forman makes the case that "economic change could and did stimulate the production of new dramatic genres" and its "productive potential derives from an engagement, rather than a disengagement, with the problems and conflicts it imagines."[26] A similar argument has been made for Nashe's text by Lorna Hutson, who situates the development of sixteenth-century prose fiction in the context of the emergent discourse of economic rationality and the new possibilities of a market economy.[27] These arguments are convincing in light of the ways *The Unfortunate Traveller* and *The Sea Voyage* each engage with and put pressure on a range of economic challenges, repeatedly turning reversals of fortune into profits—what Forman describes as "profitable transformations."[28] One way that these authors approach this—and here again we recognize Montaigne (and in a sense anticipate Marx)—is by looking beyond English shores to reflect upon cannibalistic European practices, and by turning to the medical corpse trade for imagery appropriate to the task.

The Seductive Engagements of Form

What happens to bodies in the Italy of Nashe's novella, and in the "new world" of Fletcher and Massinger's tragicomedy, mirrors the treatment of bodies in the English medical corpse economy. While the central concerns and the medical and economic implications of the rhetoric in each are quite different, both works brim with figurations of the violation and consumption of bodies, representing them as foreign practices. The use of the medical corpse economy in these two different arenas, what Deborah Burks so aptly describes as "the rhetoric of the page and in the action of the stage,"[29] suggests that these writers understood well both the vulnerability of the individual whose body was a highly desirable commodity in what must have felt like a depredatory medical market and the usefulness of this imagery

for figuring social and political injustices and greed. They also clearly grasped the creative and persuasive potential of the new genres of prose fiction and tragicomedy for representing these issues. What this speaks to is the broad-reaching imaginative appeal of corpse pharmacology across genres and audiences. The potential persuasiveness of these two texts has much to do with the very different formal engagements of prose fiction and tragicomedy and the semantic relationships forged with readers and audiences.

For example, early modern prose fiction, with its shifting and experimental form, provides a unique motley space for the microscopic attention that Nashe brings to the description of events in his otherwise wide-ranging and volatile narrative. Naomi Conn Liebler identifies early modern prose fiction as "a hybrid genre that absorbed not just cultural, ideological and historical strands of the age, but also modes of writing of other literary kinds (travel, conduct literature, ethics, philosophy) and made them available to a wider reading audience of middling classes."[30] Nashe's work is such a text, offering as it does a quixotic and multilayered response to his world. But the power and meaning of the text depends on the formal requirements of the genre, and he deftly manipulates the intimate relationship between text and reader that is possible with prose fiction. The activity of reading, as Liebler (drawing on Walter Benjamin) points out, "protects by privacy whatever thought, response, fantasy, approval, or disapproval arises from the exposure."[31] The fascination of Nashe's text lies in the self-conscious use it makes of this knowledge; repeatedly, the illusory voice of the text whispers seductively, pandering to the voyeuristic fantasies of its imagined audience—both the fictional audience of English pages and the actual English reader—knowing that the exchange between text and reader and the gamut of emotions produced are private and inaccessible to others. While I acknowledge the debt owed by Nashe's text to theatrical form, the erotic and sadistic suggestiveness of the Dr. Zachary scene depends on, and in fact manipulates, the rhetorical possibilities of prose fiction and the deeply private nature of reading. The idea of the voice of the text as tempter becomes more compelling in light of the fact that Nashe describes his writing as prostitution.[32] Here the act of writing itself enters a process of commodification and consumption as sexualized labor engaged in reader seduction.

Alternatively, the persuasiveness of tragicomedy relies substantially upon the hybrid nature of the genre, the dramatic action, the space of the stage, and the public nature of theater. In his discussion of *The Sea Voyage*, Zachary Lesser describes tragicomedy as a "tense and

paradoxical unity" of "self-consciously mixed form."[33] Pushing this further, Forman, consistent with her argument for the participation of tragicomedy in an economics of redemption argues that

> at its most basic, tragicomedy, as the name suggests, is the product of a relationship between two potentially opposing genres—one that foregrounds loss, and the other resolution. Moreover and relatedly, because that relationship is narratively structured by the fortunate fall of Christian redemption, tragicomedy . . . is particularly well suited to reimagine losses as fortunate events.[34]

While in many ways this resembles the hybrid and providential form of Nashe's prose narrative, the kind of intimacy between text and reader that *The Unfortunate Traveller* anticipates is necessarily absent in the public theater. Of course, at a certain level the responses of individual audience members to a dramatic performance remain private; however, the production of action, spectacle, and sensation in which tragicomedy participates imagines a political, physical, and very public relationship with its audience. Commenting on early modern English theater in general, Frank Whigham sees its public engagements as part of the daily social exchange and points out that the discourse used by early modern playwrights "is one not of abstraction but of embodiment, perhaps reembodiment, not only physical . . . but linguistic."[35] Furthermore, in this active social milieu, Burks notes, the theater provided "a platform for the voices of politically engaged writers and performers, and it was an auditorium for politically sensitive audiences."[36] I suggest that tragicomedy, in its engagement with economic issues and its spectacle of turning losses into gains, imagines just such a politically savvy audience. I am not arguing that a text such as Nashe's does not engage in political debate—it does so in important ways as this chapter shows—but rather that tragicomedy engages the public identity in the social world while prose fiction engages the private identity in the social world.

Thus, prose fiction provides the appropriate representational form for confronting the fearful challenge of the close and personal act of carving up the human body in the cannibalistic and erotic Dr. Zachary scene, in which the reader is voyeuristically complicit: an intimate act of interpretive seduction difficult to achieve in the public theater. In Nashe's text, Jack bounces and trips across a familiar European landscape, yet the text lingers obsessively on scenes such as the one discussed, describing them in claustrophobic minutia. Although, like Jack, the characters of *The Sea Voyage* are buffeted and displaced by

fortune, the play's island setting provides a global space suitable for engaging English economic and religious concerns. These concerns are expressed in a narrative of the losses and gains of a flesh market—figured throughout the play as meat—and the complex and shifting nature of flesh is produced by the formal tensions of tragicomedy. Both texts demonstrate the effectiveness of the medical corpse trade and its ideological and metaphorical constructs for exploring a range of issues related to economics and the human body. Furthermore, they show that literary form is itself a cultural practice.

The Jewish Doctor and Fleshly Fantasies

> *In the first place, if you consider in all candor what our big usurers do, sucking blood and marrow; and eating everyone alive—widows, orphans, and other poor people, whose throats it would be better to cut once and for all, than to make them linger in misery—you will say that they are even more cruel than the savages I speak of. And that is why the prophet says that such men flay the skin of God's people, eat their flesh, break their bones and chop them in pieces for the pot, and as flesh within the cauldron.*
>
> Jean de Léry, *History of a Voyage to the Land of Brazil*[37]

> *Cannibalism is a conventional satirical topos, which has been traditionally used for political purposes to demonise and attack forces seen as threatening social order.*
>
> Maggie Kilgour, "The Function of Cannibalism at the Present Time"[38]

In 1564, Guy de la Fontaine, physician to the king of Navarre, described to the French physician, Ambroise Paré, how a Jewish merchant who traded in mummified corpses "marveled that the Christians, so daintily mouthed, could eat the bodies of the dead."[39] These reported words highlight how easy it is to co-opt the practice of corpse pharmacology into a discourse of cannibalism and its metaphorical usefulness for describing the excessive and transgressive appetites of consumerism, a figuring that gains enormous potency when the human body itself is the commodity. If Paré's report is true and these are in fact the words of a Jewish merchant engaged in the medical corpse trade, they turn upside down popular fantasies of Jews as cannibalistic bogeymen who, according to one version, devoured Christian babies. Regardless of who made the statement, its rhetorical import reveals that the cannibalistic implications of the medical

corpse market proved irresistible to an English cultural imagination already caught up in the fantasy of humans eating other humans. As others have argued, a strong preoccupation with cannibalism existed in the English imagination, and English children were socialized in the nursery with fears of being eaten by malevolent beings.[40] The epigraph from Kilgour above is a reminder of how readily the charge of cannibalism lends itself to political expediency in the name of protecting the social order. Yet the medical corpse market offers a very real threat to social relations and stability. In this economy, the status of the body is reduced to exchangeable matter, a dehumanizing process of erasing identity.

Corpse pharmacology in Nashe's England was part of a larger European practice; however, the trade in corpses has historically frequently been represented as a Jewish practice. One of the most pernicious anti-Semitic images, that of the evil Jewish physician, underwrites attempts by early modern medical practitioners such as Ambroise Paré to situate the trade of fraudulent Egyptian mummy primarily in the hands of opportunistic Jewish merchants.[41] Demonizing narratives such as this have a crucial role in the construction of cultural identity. In the words of James Shapiro, "Storytelling has important consequences for how a culture imagines itself in the act of imagining others."[42] Paré's story of the role of Jews in the mummy economy, which derives from the report of de la Fontaine, tells us a great deal about how early modern Christian Europeans imagined themselves and their medical practices. According to Paré, de la Fontaine investigated the warehouse of one of the largest Jewish traders in mummy.

> Shown a large pile of bodies, the physician inquired about the source and asked for further information about the ancient embalming and burial practices. The merchant laughed at his naiveté and informed the physician that he had himself prepared the bodies, between thirty and forty in number, during the last four years. The bodies, now mumia, had been those of slaves and other dead persons, young and old, male and female, which he had indiscriminately collected. The merchant cared not what diseases had caused the deaths since when embalmed no one could tell the difference.[43]

In Paré's attempts to elide European involvement in the medical corpse economy, the mummified corpse becomes the site of a transference of agency from the European self to the alien Other. This identification of Jews as immoral traders in tainted corpses for Christian consumption is consistent with, and draws its anti-Semitic punch from,

"a powerful and satisfying narrative" of horrendous Jewish crimes—among them child abduction, circumcision, and cannibalism—that served to "explain both conscious and barely understood fears experienced by early modern English men and women."[44] In Paré's description, entrenched anxieties about the manipulation and eating of human bodies by Europeans are here projected onto Jews who, already carrying the burden of early modern European paranoia regarding bodily violations, are easy scapegoats. Certainly the fact that de la Fontaine (or perhaps Paré) expresses his own fears about the eating habits of Christians—who consume all kinds of corpses in the name of medicine—through the mouth of the Jewish merchant, reveals an enormous discomfort with what the Europeans were doing.[45]

My point is not whether or not the Jews were involved in the traffic of mummy—they may very well have been—rather, I wish to show how the entrenched anti-Semitism of the period shifted the moral responsibility for a medical corpse economy away from the Christian Europeans. Curiously, in every discussion of mummy in the medical histories I have consulted—including those recently published—de la Fontaine's story is repeated uncritically; the Jewish medical historian Edward Reichman falls into the same trap and fails to question the validity, or to interrogate the biases, of this account.[46] Thus a general consensus—fueled by myths of Jewish butchery and cannibalism, coupled with stories of Jewish cupidity—has filtered down through medical history unchallenged: in the ghoulish trade of corpses for medical ingestion, unscrupulous Jews took advantage of a lucrative economic situation. I attempt to show here how Nashe's text, consciously or unconsciously, questions the validity of this story.

From the very beginning, *The Unfortunate Traveller* draws attention to a social and political system that creates and depends on organized injustice, exploitation, and inequality.[47] While Nashe's primary focus is England, the confusion of events and random acts of bodily violence in his fiction expose the savage undercurrents of both English and Continental civilization, which are kept in play by what Frances Barker identifies as the "ideological authority and the physical capacity of the state to do violence to its subjects."[48] In the Dr Zachary scene, the satirical interrogation of medical doctrines and practices problematizes Christian European claims to have a civilized identity, while at the same time opens up for questioning the unflattering stereotypes of the Jews—who are in the first instance constructed as cannibalistic procurers, embalmers, and traders of corpses for mummy—against which that identity is partly defined. While Jack's morbid fear of being dissected and eventually processed into physic

by the Jewish doctor appears to reiterate the anti-Semitic stereotype of Jews as the perpetrators of horrendous crimes, this fiction is destabilized in the text. As Jack's experience with Dr. Zachary makes clear, corpse pharmacology is an English practice, and the medicalization and commercialization of Jack's body—the physical violations and erasure of identity and status he is threatened with—are associated with that practice.[49] In his discussion of Nashe's text, Mathew Martin identifies what can be read as anti-Semitism in the text as ambivalence and makes the point that "the excessive, phantasmagorical nature of the work's construction of Jewishness . . . betrays the anxiety and insecurity at the heart of its construction of Englishness."[50] I argue similarly that the anti-Semitic implications of Jack's precarious situation as Dr. Zachary's next dissection victim are undermined by the rhetoric of corpse pharmacology that positions Jack's body in a much larger medical corpse economy—a very Protestant English economy. While the linguistic dexterity of Nashe's text exposes such European cultural duplicity, the location of the action in "depraved" Rome creates an illusory geographical distance from which to draw attention to English cultural contradictions and what it meant to be English.

The Unfortunate Traveller is an intricate montage of diverse ideological and cultural perspectives and discourses that constantly interrupt and contradict each other. Many critics have found the apparent incoherence in Nashe's text challenging.[51] However, in my approach to the work as a similitude of a complex social world, I agree with Ann Rosalind Jones who argues for a Bakhtinian reading of the text as a dialogic, multi-voiced novel and notes, "*The Unfortunate Traveller* makes clear that the world it constructs is a jarring confrontation of contemporary discourses, not the mirror of a world that rises above them."[52] In these terms, the juxtaposition of contrasting and shifting points of view Jack adopts in the Dr. Zachary episode challenge any fixed cultural perspective on Jews, suggesting instead an interpretation that defies such assumptions.[53] References to the medical corpse market, the dissection of corpses, the fear of vivisection, and the pharmacological processing of corpses draw attention to what is primarily a Christian European practice and thus effectively undermine the anti-Semitic rhetoric of the episode.[54]

The episode begins with Nashe exploiting, for dramatic effect, the entrenched myths about Jews, having Jack drop, like a "blind man . . . [who] should stumble on sudden into hell," into the house of Zadok the Jew, and thus into the Jewish body market (288). Zadok, conforming to stereotype, "as all Jews are covetous," (288–289) and revealing himself as a purveyor of fine flesh, sells Jack as "body

and goods" to Dr. Zachary, physician to the Pope, for his "yearly anatomy" (289). As Shapiro notes, the practice of usury—frequently described as "biting" usury—was deeply entangled in the English imagination with the idea of the Jews as devourers of human flesh.[55] The harrowing descriptions of Jack's capture and imprisonment, and the sickening prospects of dissection by his Jewish jailer, are consistent with the allegations of abducting and killing children, ritual murder, and cannibalism leveled at the English Jews (290). Jack's status as prisoner awaiting Zachary's annual dissection is shadowed by the story of a yearly Jewish ritual murder circulating in Nashe's England: in this crime the victim is imprisoned, eaten, and attempts made to hide the evidence and the crime.[56] Jack's nightmarish fears of being dissected alive also register the psychological condition of a culture nourished on the terrifying stories about the loathsome activities of Jewish bogeymen used to control English children.[57]

What's more, when Zadok offers Jack to Dr. Zachary his sales pitch has a familiar ring: "The infection is great, and hardly will you get a sound body to deal upon . . . . I have a young man at home . . . of the age of eighteen, of stature tall, straight limbed, of as clear a complexion as any painter's fancy can imagine" (289).[58] The striking similarity of this description to the primary ingredient of Croll's recipe for mummy—a sound, unblemished, young, masculine body of sanguine excellence—is reinforced by Jack's description of Zachary's probing inspection of his body, "feel[ing] and grop[ing] whether each limb were sound and my skin not infected" and piercing the skin "to see how my blood ran" (289). Although younger than Croll's twenty-four-year-old corpse, Jack is figured as the ideal candidate not just for dissection but also for the process of preserving in the corpse pharmacology of Paracelsian physicians such as Croll. To have his flesh and blood end up as "physic" (290) after his blood is purged, "that it should not lie cloddered in the flesh" (290), is clearly how Jack sees his fate. Jack's anxiety about ending up as an ingestible drug is expressed in the culinary terms of a different kind of flesh market, in the fear of being eaten as meat for dinner, dying, bleeding, like an animal such as "a pig or a hog, or any edible brute beast a cook or butcher deals upon" (292)—a concern that also brings to mind the medical and culinary confusion of bodies in the Barber-Surgeons' kitchen discussed in the previous chapter. Furthermore, the realization that his demise is signaled by this "shrowd turn" (290)—a pun on *shrewd* and *shroud*—also suggests that Jack pictures himself en route to the apothecary shop and dainty Christian mouths.

The threat of bodily dissolution that obsessively haunts *The Unfortunate Traveller* is sharpened in Jack's feverish evocation of the horrors of live dissection and its ghastly end: slowly bleeding to death.[59] Jack imagines his live body "cut," "pricked," and "slic[ed]" (290). His fears are justified in light of John Stowe's 1587 description of an anatomy of an executed felon not yet dead[60] and Helkiah Crooke's condemnation of vivisection as the "Caniball barbarisme . . . [of] the dissection or rather butchery of living men," and his gruesome catalogue of anatomical instruments that includes "Razors of al sortes, great, small, meane, sharpe, blunt, straight, crooked, and edged on both sides; Sheares or sizers; round and long Probes of Brasse, Silver, Lead; Pincers of all sorts; Reeds, Quils, Glasse-trunkes, or hollow Bugles to blowe up the parts; Sawes, Bodkins, Augers, Mallets."[61] This imagery feeds Jack's nightmares of his life-blood draining away through "phlebotomy, bloody fluxes, incarnatives, running ulcers"; even the smallest pimple is potentially fatal and Jack "durst not let out a wheal for fear through it I should bleed to death" (290). Though Jack imagines his body being tested to a horrifying limit, this fantasy is infused with a sense of intense excitement and anticipation.[62]

Erotic Dissection and "A Smooth-Edged Razor Tenderly"

> *Inside the freezer compartments were three plastic bags. They turned out to be Oliver Lacy's heart, which Dahmer told police he saved "to eat later," and other human organs.*
>
> Robert J. Dvorchak and Lisa Holewa, *Milwaukee Massacre*[63]

On May 10, 2006, a German court convicted Armin Meiwes of murder and sentenced him to life imprisonment for carrying out his fantasies of sexualized cannibalism. Meiwes had advertised on the Internet for a "young well-built man, who wanted to be eaten," and the supposedly consenting victim, Bernd Jürgen Brandes, came forward. Together they severed, cooked, and attempted to eat Brandes' penis. Hours later, Meiwes kissed, stabbed, and butchered Brandes, freezing his body parts for future consumption. Over the next few weeks, he consumed approximately twenty kilograms of Brandes, cooked in olive oil and garlic, before being exposed and arrested. The original charges were murder for the purposes of "sexual pleasure" and "disturbing the peace of the dead." Meiwes claimed that after eating Brandes, he "felt much better and more stable."[64]

There is a tendency for the rhetoric of sexuality to drift into metaphors of consumption, primarily because of the strong physical and emotional links between sex and food; however, this rhetoric is also haunted by the very real possibility of sexual cannibalism—the slicing, cooking, and eating of the human body for sexual pleasure and emotional well-being—as evidenced by the Meiwes case. This case is a recent instance of this form of gratifying human sexual cravings. Recorded cases of this behavior throughout history come rarely enough and are indeed sufficiently famous for them to be etched into cultural memory, and to be taken out and inspected occasionally. The gory details—at once both fascinating and repugnant—often becoming more gruesome and thus more enthralling in rehearsal.

In the range of intimate physical human behaviors, sexual cannibalism, according to German criminal psychologist Rudolph Egg, "is the 'highest' form of intimate behavior."[65] The Meiwes case is a story about sexualizing the consumption of human flesh; in fact, the whole process, from choosing the perfect partner, to killing, butchering, and eating that person, is highly sexualized. The strong similarities here with the sexual allure of some aspects of early modern medicinal cannibalism are obvious. In particular, the requirement for the body of a young, well-built man reminds us, as did Jack's experience, of Croll's recipe that calls for a sound, muscular young male body.[66] Indeed, the culinary treatment of Brandes' body has the ring of Croll's instructions for spicing and macerating body parts, and the salvific effects of eating Brandes that Meiwes identifies—feelings of well-being and calmness—have medicinal implications. In a similar way, in *The Unfortunate Traveller* the lurid images of being slowly penetrated, sliced, and eaten that Jack intimately describes are the stuff of a sadistic erotic dream.

The scene under discussion explores the early modern masculine psyche and the sexualized imagery of the violated medical corpse, as manifested in the dream. Jack's terrors are described as dreams, a phenomenon of great interest to Nashe—"Of the signification of dreams," he writes, "whole catalogues could I recite . . . " He addresses this at some length in his essay, *The Terrors of the Night or A Discourse of Apparitions*.[67] In what constitutes an example of early modern psychoanalytical theory, Nashe explores "the ugly terrors of the night":

> Of those things which are most known to us, some of us that have moist brains make to ourselves images of memory; on those images of memory whereon we build in the day comes some superfluous humour of ours, like a *Jackanapes*, in the night, and erects a puppet stage, or

> some such ridiculous idle childish invention. A dream is nothing else but the echo of our conceits in the day. But other-while it falls out that one echo borrows of another, so our dreams, the echoes of the day, borrow of any noise we hear in the night. (my emphasis)[68]

Thus our dreams reenact images formed in our memory by our experiences. Here "Jackanapes" represents these images that trigger dreams and apparitions. Significantly, the definition of *jackanapes* given by the Oxford English Dictionary, "one who is like an ape in tricks, airs, or behavior; a ridiculous upstart; a pert, impertinent fellow, who assumes ridiculous airs; a coxcomb," comes close to describing Jack Wilton.[69] Certainly, in naming his protagonist Jack, Nashe plays on the many variations of the use of the name Jack to describe a mischievous creature circulating at the time.[70] "Jack" then becomes a metaphor for a mental image: "an echo of our conceits of the day." In these terms, in the figure of Jack Wilton and his sexually sadistic fantasy of being a medical corpse, the text explores the notion of the psychological source of dreams and the act of dreaming.

Behind Jack's dream lie suggestively homoerotic stories of Jewish circumcision, which, coupled with images of the consumption of body parts and blood, have powerful overtones of sexual cannibalism. These stories were exacerbated by reports from Elizabethan travelers such as Thomas Coryate, who, claiming to have witnessed a Jewish circumcision, describes how a Jew, "drawing forth a little instrument . . . did with the same cut off the prepuce or foreskin of the child, and after a very strange manner, unused (I believe) of the ancient Hebrews, did put his mouth to the child's yard, and sucked up the blood."[71] In his fantasy, Jack's fears of dissection are expressed in the terms of circumcision, conveying both a sense of exquisite horror and of sexual fascination as he watches—much as a spectator in an anatomy theater does—his passive body tremulously anticipating being "cut like a French summer-doublet" (290) by Jewish "foreskin-clippers" (291). The scene is fraught with imagery of bloody phallic flowing and sucking: "Methought already," Jack tells us, "the blood began to gush out at my nose. If a flea on the arm had but bit me, I deemed the instrument had pricked me" (290). Here, fear of the "cut"; the sexual significance of the bleeding "nose" and "prick"; and the homoerotic implications of the penetrating "instrument" and blood-sucking flea—unavoidably connoting fellatio—come together in a powerfully erotic commentary on Jewish circumcision as a depraved, cannibalistic act of sexual depletion.[72]

In Jack's mind's eye, the piercing, blood-sucking flea functions as a potent metaphor for the circumciser that shadows the text, offering a seductive vision of blood, flesh, and oral consumption that forms a devastating link with Jack's vision of his "clarif[ied]" (290) blood and flesh being prepared as ingestible physic. The sanguinary quintessence of Jack's body mirrors the "sincere, gentle and therefore more excellent" blood of the young "red Man" of Croll's recipe.[73] The myth that the Jews were barbaric circumcisers and drinkers of blood is challenged by the European medical practice of dismembering bodies, ingesting flesh, and drinking blood—all of which produces a fascinating counter-narrative of the bodily violations and consumptions of the European medical economy. This moment in Jack's fantasy reveals a horrifying, yet highly erotic, fascination with the vulnerability of the human body that taps into what Sawday has described as "a set of morbid fears which could easily be transformed into a set of barely suppressed desires."[74]

The fear that in Zachary's hands penile violation will also be Jack's fate, holds a curiously erotic excitement for Jack that expands in his fantasy to include another body part: his breast. Jack's fascination with the vision of his own dissection gains intensity at the thought of Zachary's "smooth-edged razor tenderly slicing" his breast and sides (290).[75] This fetishization of the slice of masculine breast as food, with its undercurrents of homoerotic desire and sexual cannibalism, also occurs in Croll's careful description of the highly desirable flesh of a young male to be sliced, processed, and ultimately ingested as "this Mumy (that is Musculous flesh of the Thighs, Breasts, Armes, and other parts)…"[76] These voyeuristic fantasies are elements of sadistic desires that focus on the anticipated pleasure of penetrating and consuming young masculine flesh. In Nashe's text, Jack becomes Croll's ideal body—or, for that matter, the body of any young male body destined to be processed into mummy. In his fantasy, Jack voyeuristically stands apart watching his body's violation; at another distance, the reader too participates, inadvertently drawn into the voyeurism by the intimacy of the literary form.

Nashe's text provides eloquent testimony that Jack's fantasy of sexual victimization is indebted not only to the practice of corpse pharmacology but also to recipes such as Croll's, available throughout Europe and translated into English, and is anchored in the ghoulish reality that the young male victim *is* the main ingredient in the production of corpse drugs. The commodity candidacy of young male cadavers in the medical corpse market stirs deeply seated fears and desires to create multiple figurative possibilities related to orality and

sexuality. Nashe's approach is to land his protagonist in a situation that enables Nashe to explore the sexual implications of the medical trade in and processing of bodies. Curiously, however, despite the foreign location and the involvement of a Jewish physician, Jack's fantasy is particularly English, and the figure of Dr. Zachary is elided by the exploration of Jack's out-of-body experience as he imagines himself as an item of trade in the medical flesh market.[77] Here an odd slippage occurs in the text whereby the bodily violations are not actually inflicted by Dr. Zachary but are instead a figment of Jack's fantasy. The procedure that Jack imagines is, in Nashe's world, a thoroughly English one, and the possible treatment of his remains can be traced through the Barber-Surgeons' Hall in London. Ironically, in his fantasy Jack watches his own body undergo the process that numerous other English bodies—victims of rough justice who have been fed into a laissez-faire medical system that is careless of bodies—have undergone.

Furthermore, although the action is geographically located in the "Sodom of Italy" (308), the reference to the "beadle of the Surgeon's Hall" (290) implies a different scenario of fleshly encounters in which the image of Jack is reminiscent of a body ripe for the Paracelsian arsenal, registering the pharmacological opportunities for the bloody remnants of anatomies conducted at the Barber-Surgeons' Hall in London—Ferdinand's words in the epigraph above remind us of this. However, as I show in chapter 1, medicine in England was frequently seen as an exploitative profession in which greedy doctors preyed on their patients; this distrust of physicians, in particular of "new" Paracelsians, is frequently couched in economic terms and underpins the events under discussion. Nashe makes much of this in *The Terrors of the Night*, which refers to the "new physician" (as opposed to "our [traditional] Galenists") and "metal-brewing Paracelsian[s]" who "may very well pick men's purses, like the unskilfuller, cozening kind of alchemists with their artificial and ceremonial magic."[78] Here Nashe makes clear that he refers to English practitioners in his description of the "hungry druggier" who "speaks nothing but broken English . . . pretending to have forgotten his natural tongue by travel."[79] Thus, the rhetorical intrusion of the beadle and the Barber-Surgeons' Hall threatens the text's description of a savage procedure about to be performed by a barbaric Other in a corrupt foreign land, suggesting instead another protagonist: the English medical practitioner. As we have seen, performances of official annual anatomies were also carried out in England, primarily at the Barber-Surgeons' Hall in London. Attempts to demonize Jewishness are undermined

by the intrusion of England into the episode, which challenges notions of both English and European civility. The evocation of English medical treatments of the human corpse in Jack's fantasy about what the Jewish physician might do to his body undermines negative constructions of Jews at the time, showing that Jewishness functions as the grotesque against which notions of Englishness are defined.[80]

Moreover, the image of Jack as one of Croll's ideal corpses, whose smooth and tender body parts are perfect for mummy, offers an ideological and metaphorical engagement with the medical corpse economy. The implications of the trade in human corpses as observed by writers seeking to respond to economic change in England can be seen in *The Sea Voyage*. At its most basic level, this is a play driven by romance and adventure, but there is much more to the tangled plot Fletcher and Massinger have crafted. Harris offers a way to think about this, arguing that in mercantilist writing of the late sixteenth century, "adventure" had come to signify both romantic quest and commercial venture.[81] Certainly, we see this in the complicated relationships and ruthless privateering and piracy that underpin *The Sea Voyage*, though the play makes clear that this form of commerce is dangerous and disruptive. Instead, as we will see, the play stages an economy that responds to a "politics of the belly" driven by a natural scarcity and resulting need (the lack of meat for starving shipwreck survivors), a form of commerce that—when stabilized—coincides with the production of harmonious social relationships.[82] The play stages a meat economy based on necessity as opposed to what Marx identifies in the epigraph above as those human wants that might "spring from the stomach or from fancy." However, in this flesh economy, the desperate need for meat as healing food is conceived in several ways that employ prevailing medical and religious discourses of the consumption of flesh.

"Fatall Muck" and the Meat Market in *The Sea Voyage*

Nay, then I see my end drawes, I shall rave,
Run mad: have you er'a Bedlam, that I may not famish
But shew tricks to get meate with, or raile against the State:
And when I have eas'd my gall a month or two
Come out again. Zounds let me beat hempe,
Doe any thing rather than famish: That death
She hath vow'd me, and Il'e prevent it: allow me
But every weeke a Christian, I am content

To feed upon raw flesh, if't be but once a month
A Brittaine, Il'e be content with him.

Ward in Robert Daborn, *A Christian Turn'd Turke*[83]

Her body then they did dissect,
Most dreadful for to view,
And serv'd it out in pieces
Amongst the whole ship's crew.
Eleven days more we did survive
Upon this horid food,
With nothing to supply our wants
Save human flesh and blood.

Ballad of "the lamentable shipwreck of the brig *George*"[84]

Meat, in *The Sea Voyage*, is the new gold. Tantalizingly absent and desperately desired, the scarcity of meat is central to the play's staging of a flesh economy. In fact, the lack of edible flesh or sustenance of any kind on the "wretched Island" (1.3.24), the landing place for the shipwrecked French pirates, is the phenomenon on which the play fixates. The term *meat* appears at least thirty times in the play, and at one point, in what constitutes a wonderful perplexing of the tragic and the comic elements of the play, all the on-stage characters appeal to the sky in unison, "Where's the meat?" (1.5.56). On this meatless island, where "sharp hunger pinches" (3.1.8) and there is "nothing but rocks and barrenness, / Hunger, and cold to eat" (1.3.24–25), meat represents a crisis of appetite. It becomes the scarce, precious commodity about which the castaways continually obsess. Although there is a "pleasant Island" (5.4.37) nearby, inhabited solely by women, the island on which the survivors "come ashore" (1.4.1) is "barraine" (5.2.132) and produces "nothing: neither meat nor water" (3.1.12). While meat has a range of significances in the play, both in reality and allegory, what is at work is an economy in which, ultimately, meat is not a fetishized commodity driven by a process of artificial needs and scarcity. Rather, the volatile meat index of the play rides on a dynamics of desire, need, and scarcity based on necessity. For the shipwreck survivors, meat is the medicine essential to survival; it is described in pharmacological terms as "restoring" (3.1.100), as necessary for Aminta's "recovery" (2.2.264), and as the one ingredient that will heal "these afflictions" (3.1.130). Without it, the survivors will "perish here remedilesse" (2.1.74). Suggesting the early modern medical corpse market, meat takes on precious commodity status, having a natural and therefore therapeutic value as opposed to the unnatural and

therefore destructive value of gold. In the play, lust for gold is presented as gross cannibalistic appetite that has no place in the new meat economy of the play.

The value of meat in comparison to gold is clearly registered early in the play. In a situation of impending starvation, an inevitable economic inversion occurs: meat is imbued with value to become what everyone needs but does not have, while gold is drained of value to become what everyone has but does not need. As Zachary Lesser argues, the play "demystifies gold by locating its value (or lack thereof) in a system of commodity exchange."[85] The "huge masse of treasure" that the castaways find on the island and over which they quarrel becomes, in the end, "fatall muck" (5.2.139–140) that can ruin lives. Sebastian tells the gold struck gallants, Lamure, Franville, and Morillat, "This Gold was the overthrow of my happiness" (1.4.183).[86] While I agree with Lesser that gold takes on commodity status in the play, thus representing what he identifies as "the natural law of commerce that exchange requires," I am interested in taking this reading further to consider how meat is elevated over gold as the essential commodity in this natural commercial order.[87] That meat replaces gold in the island economy is apparent early on, when Sebastian shows the survivors the store of "Gold and Jewels" (1.4.169) amassed from privateering and Albert warns the gallants not to be their own "carvers" (1.4.173). The play on the term *carver* here suggests both its early modern meaning, "to take or choose for oneself at one's own discretion," and the slicing up and serving of meat—in this case, of themselves.[88] The latter meaning is reinforced in Tibalt's subsequent threat: "You shall have gold: yes, I'le crambe it int'ee; / You shall be your own carvers; yes, I'le carve ye" (1.5.1–2). In this culinary image, the gallants, stuffed with gold, are prepared as meat to be sliced and served. The irony, of course, is that gold is useless: they cannot eat it nor does it have any kind of exchange value. Thus, the emergence of meat as the new gold in the play is driven by genuine needs and scarcities, not wants, creating a truly natural system of exchange. The castaways are freed from the burden of gold because survival depends on meat, as Lamure's question indicates: "Why should we consume thus, and starve?" (3.1.96–97). The rhetorical slippage of gold into meat that occurs here makes a point about the volatility of markets and the shifting perceptions of scarcity and need that underpin the creation of new commodities.[89]

At the most obvious level, the desirability of meat in *The Sea Voyage* can be understood in terms of the shortage of food in a shipwreck scenario. At other levels, the rather knotty narrative of the play taps

into stories of shipwreck survival familiar to the English imagination and the inevitable accounts of starvation, cannibalism, and depravation that enhance the fascination with such stories. As Brian Simpson has shown, accounts of shipwreck cannibalism in the context of survival were well known in England by the seventeenth century and were often treated with empathy.[90] Thus, the rhetoric and imagery of meat that Fletcher and Massinger deploy is already infused with ideological and metaphorical significance. The scarcity of meat produces fantasies that inevitably cross over into the cannibal desire evident as the famished gallants and the surgeon drool over the sleeping Aminta, imagining her as meat that will "eate delicately; / Just like young Porke a little lean" (3.1.107–108). Other stories of cannibalism are also introduced when Morillat tells Lamure, "I have read in stories . . ." (3.1.99), and Lamure continues:

> Of such restoring meates, we have examples;
> Thousand examples and allow'd for excellent;
> Women that have eate their Children,
> Men their slaves, nay their brothers: but these are nothing;
> Husbands devoured their wives (they are their chattels,)
> And of a Schoolemaster that in a time of famine,
> Powdered up all his Schollers. (3.1.100–106)

By trotting out a range of stories of humans eating each other in times of need, Lamure spins a historical narrative of justifiable European cannibal practices within which to situate their plan to eat Aminta.[91]

The idea of human flesh as "restoring meates" suggests that this form of eating is therapeutic and will not only reinvigorate the starving bodies of the greedy gallants but will also serve as a form of redemption for the devaluing of gold. In their fantasy, Aminta offers a remedy for the gallants' physical as well as avaricious hunger. As Morillat puts it,

> We have no meat, nor where to have we know not,
> Nor how to pull our selves from these afflictions,
> We are starv'd too, famisht, all our hopes deluded
> Yet ere we die thus, wee'l have one deinty meale. (3.1.129–132)

Clearly, what the gallants see as their major affliction is their economic starvation: their lack of "meat" brought about by the devaluing of gold. Gold has been the center of their whole world, which has now collapsed. Curiously, physical starvation is only mentioned here as an afterthought—"We are starv'd too"—and Aminta's body

is lusted after as the last "deinty meale." The gallants' rapacious appetites for gold, a parasitic form of greed, is neatly summed up by Tibalt in the term "money maggot" (1.4.82) and synecdochically figured in their "guilded soules" (1.5.6). This point is bought home during the storm when the ship's "lading" is jettisoned and Lamure is more concerned about losing "the money [he] ha wrackt by userie" than he is about losing "all the meat, and the Caskes" (1.2.4-10) on board—in other words, the necessities of survival.

While starvation is the fate faced by all the shipwrecked survivors in the play, it is only the gold-hungry gallants whose thoughts turn seriously to cannibalism. Here, an economy that privileges gold is figured as an unnatural cannibalistic appetite and this is an immoral system of commerce for which *The Sea Voyage* makes no space: eating one another, as Aminta reminds the gallants, constitutes a form of consumption that is "barbarous" and "most impious" (3.1.144, 149). The play's critique of gold as the ultimate measure of wealth registers contemporary concerns about excessive consumption. As Harris points out in his discussion of the shift in the meaning of *consumption* in the day, King James's Proclamation of 1622, in which he denounces the depletion of the nation's wealth as immoral behavior, owes much to the "medieval discourse of luxury, which located the origins of sin in the pathological appetite."[92] In its denunciation of this form of excessive consumption, the play draws on contemporary models that represent such consumption as an unhealthy squandering of national wealth.

The idea of Aminta's flesh as remedy for the gallants' unhealthy appetites is pushed to its limit at the end of this scene when the imagery of the ingestible medical corpse is deployed to reinforce the lust for gold as pathological. When Tibalt discovers the plot to eat Aminta, he threatens,

> You shall grow mumey rascals;
> I'le make you fall to your brawnes and your buttocks,
> And worry one another like keen bandoggs....
> You shall know what tis to be damnd Canibals. (3.1.168–172)

In this scenario, in which their cannibalistic desires are deftly turned back on themselves, the gallants are figured as a pack of dogs savagely eating each other, a form of self-medication in which they are their own corpse drugs consumed as treatment for the greedy, predatory nature of "their hungers" (3.1.157). The use of the term *mumey* here clearly refers to the medical corpse market that trades in human flesh and makes no bones of the fact that the consumption of the

corpse drug is cannibalistic. The metaphor provides a valuable vehicle for representing the men's ruthless and greedy conduct not only as bloody and barbaric consumption but also as a disease. As Albert declares, excessive consumption is "inhumane" and contagious—he "would not ha the aire corrupted with it" (3.1.180–181); thus, it is out of step with the natural and—by corollary—healthy, order of commerce that the play explores. Tibalt's threat to turn them into corpse drugs confronts the men with the effects of their own cannibalistic appetites; their degenerate behavior is at odds with the economic progressiveness of the play. In other words, in danger from its own cannibalistic practices, this form of commerce contains the seeds of its own destruction.

As this scenario makes clear, there is no acceptable alternative to meat for satisfying either the commercial or physical wants of the survivors. In the meat index of the play, only a ready supply of the real thing can bring about a natural form of trade, and thus physical and social wellbeing. As we have seen, the human body, in the form of Aminta, is an unacceptable—immoral, in fact—meat substitute. The possibility of the gallants themselves as medical corpse drugs is also rejected as savage and depraved. Yet, beyond these two options of human flesh as meat substitutes, *The Sea Voyage* toys with another possibility: the consumption of divine matter in the Catholic Eucharist. The imagery of the salvific consumption of divine matter that weaves through the play resonates with the rhetorical strategies of religious Reformist diatribes that construct this ritual as a savage act of cannibalism. But this too is repeatedly denied as a form of healthy consumption, a refusal that clearly identifies the natural model of commerce in *The Sea Voyage* as Protestant. The exploration of a new economy that eschews excessive consumption is, in fact, closely linked to Fletcher and Massinger's Protestant preoccupations evident in the drama's anti-Catholic moments, and thus related to English religious reform as well.[93]

This final section of chapter 3, in which I discuss the deployment of the rhetoric of the Eucharist in the play's exploration of a meat economy, paves the way for the more comprehensive discussion of the relationship between the medical corpse and divine matter that follows. In its exploration of meat substitutes, the play makes numerous references to the rituals and trappings of the Eucharist, and it would be easy to read this as Protestant nostalgia for the Catholic sacrament. However, the play rejects any such yearning for the past and persistently denies the possibility of divine matter as meat. To this end, the play frequently mobilizes anti-Catholic rhetoric, particularly attacking the process of

transubstantiation that changes bread and wine into the flesh and blood of Christ. Yet this concern with the true appearance and substance of things also has implications for the play's engagement with contemporary economic debates. Lesser points out that one of the terms of the economic debate in England is that "the value of money is stable and determined, a product of its intrinsic value (the amount of precious metal it contains) combined with its extrinsic value (the denomination stamped on it by the king and guaranteed by his authority)."[94] In other words, there is no mystery to money; its true value is based on its substance and appearance. And this is something on which the play insists: meat as the new gold cannot be what it is not.

The point is made early that the appearance and value of meat is not spiritual but physical; thus, Albert's plea, "Is there no meat above?" (1.4.139), is simply a starving man's appeal, not for divine flesh as food for the soul, but for real flesh as food for the body. Shortly afterward, in what is possibly the most provocative critique of Catholic beliefs in the play, Albert's wounded body is presented in imagery frequently used to describe the sacrificed body of Christ. Gazing on Albert's injuries, Aminta cries,

> O! but your wounds,
> How fearfully they gape? And every one
> To me is a Sepulchre; if I lov'd truly,
> Wise men affirm that true love can doe wonders,
> This bath'd in my warme teares, would soon be cur'd,
> And leave no orifice behind; pray give me leave
> To play the Surgeon, and bind 'em up." (2.1.10–16)

The uncanny resemblance here to descriptions of Christ's penetrated body and its exposed stigmata offers a stinging parody of the familiar medieval and counter-Reformation representations of Christ's tortured body. This description of Albert is analogous to the image of Christ in the poem by Catholic poet Richard Crashaw, "On the Wounds of Our Crucified Lord":

> O these wakeful wounds of thine!
> Are they mouths? Or are they eyes?
> Be they mouths, or be they eyne,
> Each bleeding part some one supplies…
> O thou that on this foot has laid
> Many a kiss and many a tear,
> Now thou shalt have all repaid,
> Whatsoe'er thy charges were. (1–12)[95]

The similarities between the suffering Albert and the suffering Christ are clear; furthermore, several of Crashaw's lines are addressed to Mary Magdalene, who has tended and wept over Christ's body. In this performance, Albert represents Christ and Aminta a Mary Magdalene figure who will cure Albert's wounds with her tears. "The bleeding part some one supplies" of Crashaw's poem evokes the Eucharist, in which the flesh and blood of Christ feeds the faithful. But in *The Sea Voyage*, the divine mystery of the Eucharist is elided by Aminta's practical—and slightly humorous—proposal that she play surgeon to the wounds and "bind 'em up." Here, there is no transformation of the flesh: Albert is simply a man being tended to by a caring woman.

The denial of the consecratory power of the priest and the miracle of transubstantiation is reinforced throughout the play. When the Surgeon, "hurt and starv'd," asks Tibalt to seek out some herbs, Tibalt replies, "Here's Hearbe gracelesse; will that serve?" (1.5.53–54). In the absence of edible flesh, herbs are presented unblessed in the place of meat for the injured and starving surgeon, the point here being that in order to be salvific, meat does not need to be consecrated. The idea is conveyed more strongly later in the play when Franville addresses the surgeon as a simpering priest who can offer comfort. "Here comes the Surgeon," he cries, "smile, smile and comfort us." And the surgeon replies,

> Here's nothing can be meate without a miracle.
> O that I had my boxes and my lints now,
> My stupes, my tents, and those sweet helps of nature,
> What dainty dishes could I make of 'em. (3.1.39–42)

Here and elsewhere in the play, the surgeon is cast in the terms of Protestant criticisms of Catholic priests, who claim the power to perform the miracle of transubstantiation. The surgeon, though he has nothing with him that could be turned into meat, could perform healing miracles if he had his pharmacological arsenal: the simples, dressings, and instruments of his medicine box. Then he could concoct not divine matter, but a different form of dainty dish as remedy for the ailing shipwrecked bodies of his comrades. In the desperate fantasies of the starving survivors, any kind of medical matter—even waste—could be turned into food: an old suppository; wafer-like paper in which pills or potions had been wrapped; old poultices; or even the boil cut from a sailor's shoulder would, as Franville observes, "serve . . . for a most Princely banquet" (3.1.36–54). In this parody of

transubstantiation, medical matter does not change into meat. It is what it appears to be: the discarded waste of sick and ailing bodies.

The point that the substance of things should be consistent with their appearance is brought home later in the play when Tibalt asks, "Is not this Bread, Substantiall bread, not painted?" (5.2.14). Substantial bread is bread, not transubstantiated bread masquerading as meat. This focus on the true nature and appearance of matter is consistent with a general shift toward verism in European culture in the age. Writing about the realism and the erasure of symbolic values in Holbein's painting, *The Body of the Dead Christ in the Tomb*, Julia Kristeva argues,

> At the heart of a Europe in upheaval, the quest for moral truth was accompanied by excesses on both sides, while the realistic taste of a class of merchants, artisans and navigators promoted the rule of strict discipline, but one already corruptible by gold. The artist refused to cast an embellishing gaze at such a world of simple and fragile truths.[96]

This rejection of false appearances and immoral consumption in favor of the true and natural value of things is reinforced in *The Sea Voyage* when Sebastian, finally reunited with Rosella, tells her

> And here,
> I see a perfect model of thy selfe,
> As thou wert when thy choyce first made thee mine:
> These cheecks and front though wrinkled now with time
> Which art cannot restore: had equall pureness,
> Of naturall white and red, and as much ravishing:
> Which by fayre order and succession,
> I see descend on her. (5.4.81–85)

In this moment, Sebastian rejects art as a way to falsify the face of youth and celebrates the pure and natural process of Rosella's maturing beauty. Likewise, consistently throughout the play we see a rejection of false appearances and values in favor of what is true and natural; the notion of transubstantiation provides a useful way to engage this further.

The Reformation rhetoric that attacked episcopal power and wealth and constructed priests as greedy devourers of the flesh and blood of Christ is also deployed against the gallants: "...[S]hew 'em a crust of bread," says Juletta, and "Theyl Saint me presently, and skip like Apes / For a sup of Wine" (4.2.43–45). In this parody, the gold-hungry gallants with their excessive appetites are depicted

as greedy priests who believe that they not only have the power to turn bread and wine into flesh and blood, but also to confer sainthood. However, the irony here lies in the fact that, at this point in the play, the French survivors are captives of the women who inhabit the nearby island and who, as controllers of all meat and drink, hold the power. This symbolically negates masculine priestly power; instead, a group of powerful women who administer meat as they see fit holds the keys to salvation. The meat over which the women hold power is real meat that they hunt themselves—they first appear in the play while hunting a stag (2.2.2)—and this becomes the key to the economic and social health of the world in the play.

In ascribing the control of meat to women and creating a form of egalitarianism in which all the survivors are equally meatless, Fletcher and Massinger challenge the social and economic status quo of early seventeenth-century England in which meat was the diet of the rich. In his discussion of English health and social conditions at the time, Andrew B. Appleby notes that at the end of the sixteenth century the wealthy ate vast amounts of meat and the very poor fell below subsistence level into starvation.[97] Hence, on another level, the play can also be seen as a social commentary on the extreme economic and social disparities in Fletcher and Massinger's world. By devaluing gold as the traditional marker of wealth and creating a situation in which, in the absence of meat, everyone on the barren island falls below the subsistence level, the play destabilizes what would have been seen as the natural economic and social order. Instead, the play posits a new order in which power lies, albeit momentarily, in the hands of those who have plenty of meat: the women on the nearby island.

This place of women illustrates the natural law of commerce toward which the play strives and that, as the conflict created by the lust for gold makes clear, goes hand in hand with social wellbeing. Thus, it is everything that the "barraine" island on which the survivors originally came ashore is not. The "pleasant" island is an ideal "Commonwealth" (2.2.18); its wealth is natural and lies in the "fertile Earth" that yields "abundance" (5.4.44). In the economic terms of the play, abundance is measured in meat, a commodity that is scarce on the barren island but plentiful in this new state where the women mediate the appetites of their male captives with "Meat and Wine" and—as the stage directions to 5.2 indicate—provide "*A Table furnisht.*" This is also the place of honest and moral dealings in commerce; here, the narrative history of the ruthless lust for treasure that underpins the events of the play are revealed and resolved. Corrupt primogeniture is the fault. "[O]ur fathers crimes / Are in us punisht," Raymond tells

Albert; "...the course / They took to leave us rich was not honest" (5.2.92–94). Here, as with the earlier behavior of the greedy gallants, excessive consumption is pathological: their fathers were "like ill men" obsessed with "prey or profit" (5.2.108, 111). In the play's resolution, national and historically natural enemies make their peace and come to a commercial understanding. Ultimately, this is the main lesson of the play and it is consistent with what Harris identifies as one of the arguments of the economic debate of the day, "that England's wealth could be augmented only if England *joined* with other nations in observing certain universal laws of commerce."[98] In the end, commercial enmity, starvation, and the scarcity of meat teaches the survivors that the fetishization of gold for its own sake is a disease, and that our individual, economic, and social wellbeing—in other words a healthy, balanced way forward for the nation—depend on recognizing that the true value of gold must be reflected in its substance and appearance.

This analysis of *The Unfortunate Traveller* and *The Sea Voyage* illustrates how representations of the violated and commodified human body draw heavily on the practice and rhetoric of the medical corpse market. Corpse pharmacology serves as a reminder of the medical capacity to turn the human body into a highly desirable commodity depending on circumstances and needs in a market of competing interests with a range of checks and balances. This in itself provided writers with powerful and evocative imagery for exploring the dehumanizing aspects of early modern consumerism. It is inevitable that the fragmentation of and trade in human bodies and the idea of the body as a consumable commodity should give rise to metaphors of appetite that slide easily into cannibalism. In particular, the imagery of the ingestible salvific corpse with commodity status is potent for describing excessive consumption as an unnatural pathological appetite. Furthermore, as *The Sea Voyage* highlights, in a Protestant England eager to put the rituals of the past behind them, the salvific medical corpse pointed inescapably to another healing body, the real presence of Christ in the Eucharist.

Chapter 4

Divine Matter and the Cannibal Dilemma: *The Faerie Queene* and *Devotions Upon Emergent Occasions*

Hereunto D. Smith *first answered, that it was no horrible, nor wicked thing to eat mans flesh, since we usually eate it in Mummy. What, said M.* F. *not the flesh of a live man?*

Daniel Featley, *The Grand Sacrilege of the Church of Rome*[1]

The divine flesh, transmitter of abstract, impalpable powers that put the soul into communication with the ineffable, was also widely perceived as a mysterious, superhuman nourishment, a sort of divine marrow that would mete out both health and salvation (the two are indistinguishable in the single, ambiguous term salus*). It was seen as a heavenly manna and balsam, a supernatural* pharmakon*—the "salubrious* elixir vitae *of His blood."*

Piero Camporesi, "The Consecrated Host: A Wondrous Excess"[2]

But for the Sovereign Remedy of all,
The Only, never-failing Cordial;
There 'tis upon That Shelf: *That Composition*
Th' Assembly *Took, it* self, *in* my Condition.
The Tears *of* Widows, Orphans Hearts, *and* Blood

They made their daily Drink, *their* daily Food:
Behold our Christian Cannibal's Oblation,
To auspicate their Moloch Reformation.

Roger L'Estrange, *The Committee; or Popery in Masquerade*[3]

In 1567, the house of Vitus Jacobaeus published a broadsheet image of the anatomy of Martin Luther (see figure 1).[4] The image, which depicts the dissection of Luther's corpse, the eating of his flesh, and the drinking of his blood, brings together early modern corpse pharmacology and the Reformation debate about the true nature of the Eucharist in a tableau of cannibalism. Such an evocative representation of corporeal associations raises the question that underpins this chapter: is there a discursive overlap between the medical ingestions of corpses and the denial of the Eucharist as corporeal matter that reveals a residual Protestant hunger for the real flesh and blood of Christ? In this anti-Reformation portrait of a public anatomy, Luther's body, lying like that of an executed criminal on the anatomist's table, is tortured, dissected, dismembered, and his blood drunk and flesh eaten by his followers—a group that includes other influential Reformers such as Calvin, Zwingli, Viret, Brenz, and Melanchthon. Significantly, although the act of cannibalism is just one of several atrocities the image represents, it dominates and thus controls interpretation of the scene. One of Luther's legs, still attached to his body, is being eaten, and the long sweep of the raised leg draws the viewer's eye upwards, to be arrested at the open mouth of the eater chomping down on Luther's foot. Meanwhile, another follower is collecting and drinking the blood gushing from the severed stump of Luther's other leg. The Eucharistic implications of the broadsheet are reinforced by a spear piercing Luther's side and an image from the crucifixion of Christ in the upper left corner. Culinary allusions are also present; the upper right corner depicts the kitchen scene in which Peter denies Christ, reinforcing the association between anatomy theaters and kitchens that I identify in my discussion of *Titus*.[5]

The broadsheet representation of the eating of Martin Luther suggests that the figurative boundaries between medical consumption of the human body, sacramental ingestion of divine matter, and culinary eating of human flesh were permeable and difficult to sustain. While the cannibalistic imagery here is a strategy of religious insult, a rhetorical tit-for-tat in which the Catholics have their day, it also speaks to deeper, more primal alimentary desires.

Figure 1 *The Anatomy of Martin Luther,* issued by Vitus Jacobaeus in Coburg, ca. 1567. Original in the Kunstammlungen der Veste Coburg/Germany. Reproduced here from Walter L. Strauss, *The German Single-leaf Woodcut, 1550–1600: A Pictorial Catalogue,* vol. 3 (New York: Abaris Books, 1975) 1184, by permission of the National Library of Australia and the Kunstammlungen der Veste Coburg/Germany.

In this image we see the connection I explore in chapter 1 between the practice of anatomy and corpse medicine. At the same time, the depiction of Luther as food collapses any distinction between the medical and the culinary—especially through the image of the kitchen. Finally (and most crucially to this chapter), in this parody of the Eucharist, the clear medical references draw attention to the ideological and metaphorical similarities between medical

ingestions of the human body and religious ingestions of the body of Christ.

If the overt message of the broadsheet is, as Ole Peter Grell and Andrew Cunningham argue, "that the punishment for heresy is to be betrayed, chopped up and devoured by your own followers,"[6] the broadsheet also highlights the intriguing multiplicity of Reformation discourses of cannibalism. The jostling of the medical references, the anti-papal propaganda, and the anti-Reformation significance of the image confound interpretation of the image as merely demonized Protestantism and remind us of the durability of cannibal imagery and its adaptability to a range of contexts. In the following discussion of the Errour episode in Edmund Spenser's *The Faerie Queene*, and of John Donne's *Devotions Upon Emergent Occasions*, I show how these texts use the imagery of cannibalism, which produces the intricate figurative dynamic of medical and Eucharistic consumptions of the body identifiable in the broadsheet, to explore a crisis of appetite: a crisis brought on by perceptions of lack and need. These two texts situate themselves differently in the debate over the Real Presence and reveal how the literary imagination deploys the complex orthodoxies and heterodoxies of that debate, which was conducted most intensely in expressions of Protestant antipathy toward Catholicism. In Spenser's text, the savage consumption of flesh and blood in the Errour episode graphically demonstrates the anti-papal propagandist linking of Catholicism with cannibalism and barbarism in an attempt to expunge Catholicism from the national landscape. The Errour episode is, in the end, about a Protestant appetite struggling to fully distance itself from Eucharistic eating. In comparison to the intense anti-papalism of Spenser's text, Donne's *Devotions* offer an alternative perspective on the Catholic Eucharist, one that is expressed as a profound alimentary longing. In Donne's mapping of his physical and spiritual illness, which is underwritten by a deep residual hunger for Christ's body, the constant rhetorical overlapping of secular and divine physicians and medicine gives form to the tantalizing possibility that the medical corpse provides curious relief for a deprived Protestant appetite that a purely spiritual remedy fails to satisfy. Both in the Errour episode and in the *Devotions*, corporeal relations are reduced to eating; however, while the figurations of cannibalism in Spenser suggest a Protestant appetite vulnerable to temptation, Donne's text reveals an appetite so deeply deprived of Eucharistic nourishment that the boundaries between medical and spiritual consumption of corpses become blurred.

Holy Nourishment and Salvific Swallowing

> *This is that bread which came down from heaven: not as your fathers did eat manna, and are dead: he that eateth of this bread shall live for ever.*
>
> John, 6:58[7]

> *[A]bject and abjection are my safeguards. The primers of my culture.*
>
> Julia Kristeva, *Powers of Horror*[8]

The medical ingestion of corpses and the Eucharistic eating of the body of Christ bear an uncanny similarity: both are fueled by a deep need to believe in the mysterious salvatory power of the human body—a need that is compelled by the inevitability of death. The desire to capture and channel the extraordinary energy, the pure essence, of life before it disintegrates in the nullifying process of what John Donne describes as "this death of corruption and putrifaction, of vermiculation and incineration, of dissolution and dispersion,"[9] fuels early modern medical beliefs in the efficacy of human matter. Earlier, I discuss the Paracelsian pharmacological model as described by physician John Schroder, which is based on the belief that the therapeutically ideal corpse must contain the active properties, the "Balsamick spiritual substance fit to nourish," which "remains a while not separated from its body, till both be dissolved. And it is as it was before it was killed."[10] This urgency to actualize the body's anima after death also sustains the Roman Catholic faith in the salvific power of the consumed body of Christ contained in the sacrament of the Eucharist. Through a divine act, the elements of the bread and wine are miraculously transubstantiated into the real flesh and blood of Christ,[11] in which the supreme substance—the awesome potency of God—is infinitely preserved. Of course, the therapeutic efficacy of the human corpse as a drug takes on superhuman dimensions, constituting a different form of salvific swallowing, when the corpse in question is God:

> Doctors acknowledge that a dead man's parts and members can be put to the same parts and members of incurable patients, head to head, mouth to mouth, hand to hand, and will have the power to heal them .... Now, if the body of a dead man can possess such virtue, how much more powerful the body of God who is all virtue.[12]

Nevertheless, regardless of the corporeal discrepancy, the medical and religious administration of corpse fragments for healing purposes,

either to the patient or to the communicant, share a certainty in the therapeutic power of bodily matter when ingested and absorbed.

Through his corporal presence in the ingested consecrated matter, Christ becomes the "medicine of immortality and the antidote to death,"[13] making him, in the words of Piero Camporesi from the epigraph above, a "superhuman nourishment" and "supernatural pharmakon." There is a familiarity to the language. These descriptions resonate with similar medical attempts to capture in language the impalpable essence of the human corpse—*sovereign remedy*, *universal panacea*, *balsamic spiritual substance*—easily ingested and incorporated into the living body. In my discussion of *Titus Andronicus*, I show how the complex performances of the human corpse as medicine and as food (a distinction that repeatedly threatens to collapse) stage a cultural ambiguity surrounding cannibalism. In the Roman Catholic Eucharist, the pharmacological and culinary functions merge and the vocabularies of food and medicine intertwine. As William Ian Miller explains, in the Eucharist, "One must ingest holy contaminants—blood and flesh—to be cured and saved. One must eat that which no one would eat in his right mind, or right state of health. The materialism of the doctrine is remarkable in its implicit admission of the doubtfulness of purely spiritual cures."[14]

The flesh and the blood of Christ are both medicine and food for the devout—the divine manna that heals and nourishes not only the ailing spirit but also the ailing body of the communicant. With his power to restore well-being "through confession, the Eucharist and extreme unction,"[15] Christ was seen as the supreme, all-curing physician, and the consecrated host was ascribed with extraordinary therapeutic powers. The practice of administering holy wafers to the sick was common in the Middle Ages. St. Francis de Sales offers a recipe for *medicina sacramentalis*, a consecrated "cordial wafer . . . composed of the rarest powder" which had to be taken "at least an hour before the meal."[16] In his research on the pharmacological use of the holy wafer, a drug with the power to "expel the physical ills of the body," Hymen Saye describes a prescription for consecrated wafers given with an apple for the treatment of quartan fever—both the wafers and the apple were formulaically inscribed in Latin to promote healing.[17] Consecrated wafers were stored and carried in a pyx when ministering to the sick,[18] thus constituting a portable medical chest of divine flesh. Furthermore, *viaticum*, the Eucharistic food for life's last journey, was administered as a final meal to those believed to be dying. For Protestant Reformers, the use of the Eucharist as a "salve for all diseases"[19] formed part of the catalogue of Catholic

Eucharistic abuses; in an attempt to eliminate such Catholic superstitions, the 1552 Prayer Book specified that ordinary bread be used in the communion service, in contrast to the Catholic tradition of using unleavened wafers.[20]

It seems ironic then, that in late sixteenth- and early seventeenth-century religious and medical controversies, the belief in the corporeal presence of Christ in the Eucharist was the focus of the most ardent anti-papal attacks by Protestant Reformers bent on interpreting the theophagy of the Catholic Mass as abjection—a barbaric and depraved act of eating. In Maggie Kilgour's words, "In order to delineate themselves as one religious body against another, the Reformers defined themselves in terms of eating, as those who ate spiritually in opposition to the others who ate God literally."[21] But at the same time, Paracelsian medical remedies, of which corpse pharmacology was an essential part, were increasingly tolerated and even embraced by the anti-Galenic medical fraternity—comprising mostly Protestant Reformers—as an enlightened alternative to a medical tradition mired in Galenic paganism.[22] Here the ingested human corpse is interpreted and thus made palatable as medicine; however, this interpretation is put under enormous pressure by its parallel to the Eucharist, in which the boundary between divine eating and cannibal transgression is constantly contested.

Indeed, boundaries are inherently unstable and dependent on expediency and perception. As Deborah Kuller Shuger points out, "The question of boundary is precisely that of the relation between [interpretive] categories."[23] In Reformation England, the religious beliefs that had held fears of alimentary transgression at bay for so long were profoundly shaken, and in the desire to redefine religious boundaries the shifting ambiguities surrounding the Eucharist provided fertile ground for anti-papal propaganda. Thus, it is no surprise that the suspicion of cannibalism that had for centuries haunted the Eucharist resurfaces in Reformation discourse. The issue is complicated, however, by shared religious and medical beliefs in the potency of the ingested body in which the distinction between food and medicine is extremely hazy and relentlessly perplexes cultural interpretations of abjection.

In early modern medical and religious discourses there is a clear parallel between medical and religious reform, a parallel anchored in part by what were for many attractive myths of a pristine past. Belief that the early moments of Christianity were a time of religious purity, when the truth of Christ's simple words rang clearly, and worship was unadulterated by the excessive rituals and doctrinal errors of medieval

Catholicism, struck a chord in medical reformers seeking a way out of the polypharmacal maze of Galenic medicine. The dissatisfaction felt by many late sixteenth- and early seventeenth-century medical practitioners toward the entrenched authority of Galenic medicine, and its confusion of remedies, led to a desire for the Hippocratic simplicity offered by the new "phisicke" of Paracelsus.[24] In the words of John Webster, Galen was an "ignorant Pagan, who . . . did traduce, and darken the writings of those that preceded him . . . And yet can the Schools be so willfully mad to adore this Idol, and follow this blind guide."[25] Coincidentally, dissatisfaction with the entrenched authority of the Roman Catholic Church spurred the vehemence of Protestant Reformers' attacks on the Church's most central doctrine: the Eucharist.[26] Attacks on the Catholic Mass confirm the close similarity between medical and religious reform; in their accusations of Catholic idolatry and paganism, religious Reformers adopted a language similar to that of medical reformers. We see the similarity reinforced by expressions of animosity toward the use of Latin in religion and medicine: "Papists and the Colledge of Physitians," writes Nicholas Culpeper, "will not suffer Divinity and Physick to be printed in our mother tongue."[27]

Furthermore, Charles Webster argues that, "Paracelsian medicine had been intimately associated with currents of religious thought and particularly Protestant mysticism, from its Reformation origins."[28] Paracelsus himself makes the connection in his writings between his critique of established medicine and anti-papalism.[29] According to Robert Burton, "Erastus and the rest of the Galenists" also draw the same connection, vilifying Paracelus for doing "that in physic, which Luther [did] in divinity."[30] Offering a different perspective, Protestant medical reformer R. Bostocke, in his Paracelsian apology of 1585, describes medical and religious reform as sharing a common goal: a yearning for the simplicity and purity of past practices. The attempt to eradicate the "false and injurious . . . heathenish Phisicke of Galen" was fueled by the same desire as Reformers' attempts to rid the English Church of "the Clowdes of the Romish religion." For Bostocke, the chemical remedies of Paracelsian medicine afford an opportunity to return to the "former puritie" of a "true and auncient phisicke," a state that resembles "his puritie"—the true word of Christ before its adulteration by Rome. Consequently, the "corporall and Grosse medicines" of Galen resemble the "impurities" and "outward ceremonies and . . . corporal exercises" of the Roman Church.[31]

The most frequently maligned "corporal" error of the Roman Church was, of course, the much-debated doctrine of

transubstantiation—the idea that Christ was physically present in the sacrament as food—was considered by many Reformers to be an invention of the devil and drew charges of Catholic idolatry and cannibalism.[32] Bishop Coverdale, in "A Treatise on the Sacrament of the Body and Blood of Christ," describes the doctrine of transubstantiation as satanic, attributing Catholic doctrinal error to the devil who corrupted the sacrament with "diverse errors and superstitions."[33] Speculating that the doctrine of transubstantiation influenced a "Crusader ideology" that constructed foreigners as cannibals, Peter Hulme argues, "Boundaries of community are often created by accusing those outside the boundary of the very practice on which the integrity of that community is founded."[34] Ironically, however, during the Reformation this ideology backfired on the Catholics: it was picked up by the antipapists and used against the Catholics themselves.

The eaten body is at the very heart of the Catholic Mass, and the understanding of the flesh and blood of Christ as food is a well-established linguistic paradigm that communicates the experiential and imaginary spirit of the ritual itself. Darwell Stone offers a simple summary of this essential element of the sacrament as "such communion with our Lord as is described as eating His flesh and drinking His blood."[35] The ceremony was created from, and powerfully reenacts, that most fundamental of human rituals: eating. Christ instituted the Eucharist by attaching a new meaning to the "old rite of the bread and the cup" of the Jewish religious meal that was to be his last supper.[36] With the words "This is My Body which is for you. Do this for the re-calling of Me," and "This cup is the New Covenant in My Blood. Do this, whenever you drink it, for the re-calling of Me,"[37] Christ constructs himself as food and drink, investing an old Jewish culinary custom with a radically new significance that encompasses the corporeal and the uncanny.[38] As Elaine Scarry succinctly puts it, "In the Last Supper and in the communion [Christ] enters the food chain, allowing himself to be taken in . . . as an object of sustenance."[39] Through the simple utterance, "This is my body," bread and wine become the body to be eaten, and thus the signifiers of cannibalism.[40] Furthermore, the understanding of Christ's body as food is reinforced by the availability of recipes for the special preparation of the host. In the workbook of the fifteenth-century parish priest was a recipe for the baking of hosts, a careful, ritualized process of "collection, washing and drying of the grains, the milling, mixing with water, and baking of the host."[41] Moreover, St. Thomas Aquinas argues that Christ deliberately designated that the blood be contained in a cup to indicate that his blood was something

to be consumed, as food.[42] Spatially and temporally, the sacrament is clearly anchored in the past (memory) and the present (this is) but it also points to the future: as a "*praegustatum*," it offers a foretaste of the final heavenly banquet.[43]

The Eucharist offers the opportunity to physically experience unity with God through the intimacy of eating: a tantalizing vision of well-being in this world and salvation in the next, made possible by Christ's reported words: "Except ye eat the flesh of the Son of Man and drink His blood, ye have not life in yourselves. He that eateth My flesh and drinketh My blood hath eternal life."[44] The bread and wine, changed into the physical body of Christ, become what James T. O'Connor calls the "new Food."[45] The second-century theologian Tertullian succinctly makes the link between divine matter as both salvatory and alimentary: "The flesh is the hinge of salvation.... The flesh is fed on the Body and Blood of Christ, so that the soul may grow fat on God."[46] Such images of the Eucharist as nourishing sustenance for the soul and the body reinforce the notion of the Eucharist as "something good to eat... and no form of assimilation was more direct than that through eating."[47] Furthermore, the inevitable dilemma over the physical consequences of eating Christ—the troubling question of what Camporesi describes as "the obscure intestinal meanders"[48] of the Host, and what Catherine Gallagher and Stephen Greenblatt call "the problem of the leftover"[49]—has a long history of debate within the Roman Catholic Church.

At the heart of religious controversy was the Reformation debate over the material nature of the Eucharist: the question of the Real Presence of Christ in the consecrated bread and wine.[50] The nature of the Eucharist was the sticking point between Luther—who, in his doctrine of consubstantiation, accepted the Real Presence but rejected transubstantiation—and other Protestant theologians who saw very little difference between these two doctrines.[51] Those at odds with Luther argued that all scriptural sayings about "the presence of the Lord in the church and about eating him" were to be interpreted "not carnally or corporeally, but spiritually."[52] "[O]ur souls," asserts Calvin, "are fed by the flesh and blood of Christ in the same way that bread and wine keep and sustain physical life."[53] And in the words of Archbishop Cranmer:

> The eating of Christ's Flesh and drinking of His Blood is not to be understood simply and plainly as the words do properly signify, that we do eat and drink Him with our mouths; but it is a figurative speech spiritually to be understood, that we must deeply print and fruitfully

> believe in our hearts, that His Flesh was crucified and his Blood shed for our redemption. And this our belief in Him is to eat His Flesh and drink His Blood, although they be not here present with us, but ascended into heaven.[54]

All corporeal meaning relating to the notion of eating flesh must be drained from the language of "presence," its meaning refined to a purely spiritual presence signifying the "efficacy and power" of the body of Christ.[55] Phrases such as "to eat the Body and drink the Blood" of Christ are reduced from a literal to a figurative meaning in a ritual that is no longer a corporate action—a communal supper in fact—but isolated in "the secrecy of the individual's mind."[56] The controversy over the Eucharist cast doubt on the most central and cohesive religious tenet of early modern Christian culture: the corporeal nature of the Eucharist. In Miri Rubin's words, "Within the cultural system of this world and the language of sacramental religion which communicated so many of its meanings, the Eucharist offered access to the supernatural, grace, hope for salvation, and a framework for meaning in human relations."[57] Eating the body of Christ allowed that access, making possible a special kind of relation with Christ; the laity's taking of Christ's literal body into their own produced an intensely physical and intimate unity with Christ. As fellow participants in Christ's redemptive sacrifice, they entered "the universal Body of Christ throughout time and space."[58]

Protestant Reformers, intent on demarcating religious—and therefore moral—boundaries, capitalized on the conviction of Christ as food and the predicament of the alimentary canal in order to distort and bring into disrepute the central doctrine of the Roman Catholic faith. Thus, Protestant condemnations of the Church of Rome are couched in language of contempt and disgust that impugn the Church's morality. Moral judgment, as William Ian Miller argues, "seems almost to demand the idiom of disgust," which, in its attempt to alter and control "political, social and moral orderings," can be identified as a "culture-creating passion."[59] As part of the effort to shift the religious power base from Catholic to Protestant, anti-papal polemic of the late sixteenth-century frequently depicted the Church of Rome as contemptible and disgusting. The direct embodiment of false religion, Catholicism was constructed as a doctrinally erroneous anti-religion, even associated with Satanism, deliberately distorting and perverting Christianity with its heathen and idolatrous dogma and forms of worship.[60] Furthermore, Queen Mary's brutal treatment of Protestants and political dissenters greatly exacerbated

anti-Catholic feeling in England, producing a deep and continuing opposition to the Pope as the Antichrist, and to papists as devoid of divinity. Events such as the Spanish Armada's attempt to invade England and the St. Bartholomew's Day massacre of Huguenots in France fueled passionate Reformer action.[61] The desire to construct the Catholics as savage eaters of human flesh was strengthened by reports of the inhuman treatment of Protestant corpses in the French religious wars; where Protestant bodies were violently mutilated and their parts sold as food in what Natalie Zemon Davis describes as a "ghoulish commerce."[62] Furthermore, as Frank Ardolino points out, "The association of Paris and massacre became almost proverbial in the years following this political and religious tragedy." Hieronimo's words in *The Spanish Tragedy*, "I have seen the like / In Paris, 'mongst the French tragedians . . . In Paris? Mass, and well remembered!" suggest the effectiveness of the imagery of these massacres for representing Catholic depravity and corruption.[63]

The long tradition in theological discourse on the Eucharist of using the vocabulary of food when referring to Christ's body produced a volatile cultural fantasy ripe for Protestant exploitation. A discourse of alimentary disgust developed around the debate over interpretations of the Eucharist: is it the literal or figurative body of Christ that mediates between earth and heaven, and does reception of the sacrament constitute a literal or figurative eating and drinking of the divine flesh and blood? The sentiment against the papists' "wicked and monstrous dream of transubstantiation"[64] is neatly captured in the title of Thomas Becon's pamphlet: "Against the gross and fantastical opinion of the Papists, which affirm that Christ's natural body and blood is carnally eaten and drunken in the Lords Supper."[65] In chapter 1, I discuss the repugnance expressed by Hakluyt's unnamed explorer and Amboise Paré toward the "forced" medical ingestion of mummy, described as the "dead bodies [which are] the Mummie which the Phisitians and Apothecaries doe against our willes make us to swallow," and "the mangled and putride particles of the carkasses of the basest people of *Egypt*" that patients are compelled to eat. Their feelings strongly resemble the discomfort expressed by Reformers such as John Wyclif toward the eating and drinking of the flesh and blood of Christ in the Catholic Eucharist: "If thou [were to] see in liknesse of fleisch and blood that blessed sacrament, thou schuldest lothen and abhorren it to resseyve it into thy mouth."[66]

However, while the dread of cannibalism implicit in Wyclif's attack fueled the early modern Protestant construction of the

Roman Catholic priests and communicants as bloodthirsty cannibals, there was no corresponding outrage directed against the prescribers and users of corpse drugs. Karen Gordon-Grube also notes these contradictory attitudes toward cannibalism in her study of the Paracelsian medicine practiced by Puritan poet and physician Edward Taylor, who prescribed mummy while at the same time rejecting the belief in transubstantiation because "feed[ing] on Human Flesh and Blood" is "barbarousness." Gordon-Grube asks: "Why was he squeamish with regard to the flesh and blood of Christ? Did he consider it more "barbarous" to eat God, in the Sacrament, than man? Or for that matter, did he consider it less "barbarous" to eat man, as mummy, than God?"[67] As I noted earlier, there was a widespread distrust of medical practitioners and some aversion toward the medical use of corpses, but the tone was one of general uneasiness rather than loud condemnation. Corpse therapy appears to have been culturally tolerated as a medical practice, albeit a disquieting one.

In comparison, detractors of the Catholic belief in the Real Presence of Christ developed a discourse of exclusion, which depended on constructing Catholics as the savage consumers of human flesh.[68] Historically, the literary tradition of describing Christians as devourers of human flesh is well established. As early as the second century after Christ, the stereotype of the cannibal Christian, substantiated by the interpretation of the Eucharist as the flesh and blood of Christ, was widespread.[69] Norman Cohn points out that few early Christians would have disagreed with the Council of Trent's defining statement in 1551: "If any one . . . shall deny that wonderful and singular conversion of the whole substance of the bread into (Christ's) body and of the wine into his blood . . . let him be anathema."[70] Still, an uneasiness over the cannibalistic implications of the Eucharist has haunted Christianity from the beginning, posing a dilemma for early Christian theologians such as Tertullian, who points out that "the fact that we eat God in the Eucharist and are truly fed on his flesh and blood is a paradoxical redemption of that most horrible of consumptions: cannibalism."[71]

Centuries later, in his attack on the theory of transubstantiation, Wyclif draws his phraseology of eating from eleventh-century discussions on the nature of the Eucharist, calling in particular upon "the confession of Berengar" as an authority.[72] This eleventh-century theologian, Berengar of Tours, argued for a figurative as opposed to a literal interpretation of the Real Presence of Christ in the Eucharist.[73] Berengar was, however, forced to recant his position

and take an oath confirming his belief in a literal dogma of the Real Presence:

> I believe that the bread and wine which are laid on the altar are after the consecration not only a sacrament but also the true body and blood of our Lord Jesus Christ, and they are physically taken up and broken in the hands of the priest and crushed by the teeth of the faithful, not only sacramentally, but in truth.[74]

In the sixteenth century, Calvin brought up Berengar's confession as "monstrous" and repeatedly reiterated it for its graphic, sensationalist power in his attack against Luther's "popish" view of the Real Presence. For Calvin, the issue of the Real Presence focused on the physical act of eating: how can one claim to eat, but not chew—as Luther claimed—the true body of Christ?[75] The corporeal and spiritual distinctions of Wyclif and his followers, in the fourteenth-century debate about how the presence of Christ is manifested in the Eucharistic sacrament, were appropriated and taken to their extreme by late sixteenth- and early seventeenth-century Reformers intent on negotiating a religious power base by reinforcing the boundaries of the civilized and the barbaric.[76] Later in the seventeenth century, Puritan fears that the doctrine of transubstantiation would be reintroduced by the Laudians were couched in the same rhetoric of disgust; in his attack on Catholic literalism, Milton describes the disgusting, humiliating treatment of Christ's body, which is "broken once more and crushed and ground, even by the fangs of brutes." In his discussion of the Lord's Supper, Milton is adamant that the language of the liturgy is purely figurative and that any literalization of Christ's words is a gross misrepresentation.[77]

Considering the complexities of the Eucharist, Rubin argues that "the juxtaposition of [the] simplest natural act, of eating, with the holiest and most taboo-ridden of nourishments, the human body, associates acts and symbols which in any other context would be abhorrent and unutterable."[78] The metaphorical potential of this association was irresistible for those disparagers seeking to represent the repeated performances of sacramental bodily ingestions as disgusting and depraved. Anti-papal propaganda made much of the physical realities of eating Christ. Becon describes the process in his mocking diatribe against the "popish mass": "[Y]e tear him on pieces, ye eat him, ye digest him, and send him down by a very homely place."[79] The derision of Margery Baxter that "god and Christ's real body, "falsely and deceitfully" consecrated by priests, are eaten over and

over again by communicants who then "emit them from their back side in filthy and stinking pieces,"[80] clearly describes the rudimentary problem associated with ingesting and digesting the true body and also raises the issue of priestly power and priestly fabrication. Like many Protestant Reformers, Baxter takes the alimentary discourse of Berengar and Wyclif to its next level—the problem of the digestion and the defecation of Christ's body. Here we also recognize Milton's concerns over the defecation of Christ's body, and how "when it has been driven through all the stomach's filthy channels it shoots it out—one shudders even to mention it—into the latrine."[81] The culinary implications of the Catholic Mass, which underpin the graphically scatological bent of these observations, is articulated clearly in Thomas Turke's frequently quoted poem:

> As on the whale did Jonas, so they eat
> Him up alive, body and soul, as meat
> As men eat oysters, so on Him they feed;
> Whole and alive, raw and yet not bleed
> This cooker, void of humanity,
> Is held in Rome for sound divinity.[82]

Furthermore, Protestant Reformers such as Becon had a field day with the idea of Christ as food for the cannibalistic priest, who "doth not only with his greasy fingers touch and handle that very self-same body, but he doth also break it, crush it asunder with his teeth, eat it, swallow it down, devour it, &c."[83] In an attempt to construct the papists as savage barbarians, anti-papal ridicule of the Catholic Eucharist graphically profiles the various stages of the physical reality of eating.

The set piece for the Reformation controversy over the Eucharist was the medieval Western Mass in use in 1500.[84] The familiar form of the Mass represented a gradual erosion of the ritual, from the original rite in which all communicants actively and frequently participated, to a rite in which the celebrant alone participated on behalf of the congregation and the administration of the sacraments to the communicants was restricted to an annual Easter event. Thus by the early sixteenth century, the laity, previously active participants in the "corporate action,"[85] were passive observers, their role reduced to that of spectators—to seeing and hearing the celebrant's performance of a ritual from which they were even further alienated by the use of Latin. The reduction of the congregation's auditory access to the Eucharistic devotions was compensated for by an over-emphasis

on their visual access. The act of elevating the host, introduced in the eleventh century, exposed the body of Christ to the worshipful gaze of eager communicants, resulting in a perpetual focusing on the moment of sacrifice—the reiteration that "the Son of Man had *died* and *here* was the living memorial of His passion."[86] At this extremely powerful moment, worshippers are described as running about the church, jockeying for a better view, while others come just for the glimpse of Christ and then quickly departed. All of this turned the ritual into a spectacular performance with the priest as the main actor. Possessor of extraordinary agency as God's representative, the priest alone consecrated the host; performed the administering of the sacrament; elevated the host; mediated grace and, except for one day a year, repeatedly partook of communion—all of which was conducted in a foreign tongue.[87]

This was the Catholic Mass with which the Christian English were familiar, and with which many, Catholics and Reformers alike, were disgruntled. The form of the Mass at the time, with its emphasis on spectacle and sacerdotal privilege, provided further fuel for the Reformers' anti-papal fire. The elevation and adoration of the sacrament was considered to be idolatrous, and the use of Latin to be gibberish. Catholic priests, powerful in their role as mediators between God and the congregation, were believed to be corrupt and corrupting, making them attractive targets for Protestant polemicists such as Becon, who names the Catholic priest—the spreader of "poisonful doctrine" who is "always desirous to shed blood"—as a greedy "massmonger" who, in administering his "satanical supper," "giveth not the bread and wine to them that are presenting the remembrance of Christ's death; but he himself devoureth altogether alone."[88] In addition, the Catholic Church, with its seductive doctrine, was considered to have the dangerous lure of a sexually promiscuous woman.[89] The Reformers gave the errors of the Church of Rome their most extreme interpretation for public consumption: the Church itself was the Whore of Babylon; its leader was the Antichrist;[90] its corrupt servants were bloodthirsty gluttons; its most central action was cannibalism; its satanic doctrine was erroneous; its ceremonies were idolatrous; its worship was carnal. Furthermore, the communicant's participation in the intimate experience of regularly eating the flesh and blood of Christ in the Eucharist was limited to a spectral moment. The dissatisfaction created by what was seen as an excessive display of priestly autonomy at the expense of the communicants played into the hands of those Reformers who contested the role of the body in the Eucharist ceremony.

The preceding discussion offers an overview of an extremely complex aspect of religious conflict in early modern England. While I focus on anti-papal rhetoric, I do not want to suggest that the conflict was one-sided, with only the Catholics under attack. The conflict went both ways; in fact, as Guibbory shows, "the Roman Catholic church had persecuted Protestants in an attempt to quell the Reformation, as Foxe's *Booke of Martyrs* vividly recounts. But Catholic hatred of Protestant heresy was matched in England by intense Protestant hatred of Catholicism."[91] The deeply insulting language deployed by many Reformers in the Eucharist debate speaks to the intensity of the struggle between competing ideas. Yet it also speaks, and perhaps more importantly so, to the powerful and pervasive role of the ritual in everyday lives. That the belief in transubstantiation became in a sense the *cause célèbre* of the debate attests to this. Furthermore, the fact that the conflict focuses on the issue of the eaten body tells us something about the deep and visceral resonance of cannibalism. In what follows, I consider how the debate over divine matter in the Eucharist produced the deeply conflicted representations of the ingestion of human flesh in Edmund Spenser's *The Faerie Queene* and John Donne's *Devotions Upon Emergent Occasions*.[92]

Excessive Consumption and the Error of Appetite

Then when she wakt, they all gave one consent,
That since by grace of God she there was sent,
Unto their God they would her sacrifize,
Whose share, her guiltless bloud they would present,
But of her dainty flesh they did devize
To make a common feast, & feed with gurmandize.

Edmund Spenser, *The Faerie Queene*[93]

Cannibal rituals, Peggy Reeves Sanday suggests, draw on the human body as "the medium for a conceptual framework" to express a "physiologically based ontology that regulates as it regenerates social, psychological, and, sometimes, cosmological categories." Human existence and consciousness are given meaning and social form through such ritualized bodily acts.[94] If we understand the Catholic Eucharist as a cannibalistic ritual that had for centuries brought ontological significance and social coherence to the Christian world, then Spenser's assimilation of Reformation preoccupations with the Eucharist and divine matter into a grisly allegory of cannibalism, which ultimately

rejects any form of redemptive corporeal eating, represents an uncompromising denial of that world view. Thus, in Book I of *The Faerie Queene*, when Errour's young gorge themselves on the polluted blood of their decapitated dam, the language of alimentary depravity is best understood in relation to how the anti-papal discourse saturating the poem mediates this denial. But, as we will see, the macabre mixture of ingested corpse matter and blood that infuses Spenser's allegory also resonates with the cannibalistic imagery of other discourses dealing with corpse pharmacology, female sexuality, and colonialism.

The religious allegory in the Errour episode is aligned with the nationalist, imperialist, and ethical preoccupations of the poem. But, as Richard Mallette argues, *The Faerie Queene* brings religion together with other Reformation discourses in a way that "often seems self-consciously to evoke texts, issues, and especially idioms of the Reformation as a means of engaging its controversies."[95] In my analysis, I show how, at one level, the persistent emphasis on consuming the body in the Errour episode represents a strong endorsement of the Protestant cause: couched in the Reformation's anti-papal language of disgust and contempt, the episode offers a harsh condemnation of the Church of Rome. Yet at another level, the battle with Errour that Redcrosse Knight instigates acknowledges the seductive appeal of all that Errour represents—false doctrine, sin, excessive consumption, and dangerous female sexuality (Catholicism was frequently described in terms of the dangerous lure of a sexually promiscuous woman)—and warns of the dangers of succumbing to our own appetites. In other words, Errour is a chimera produced by our insatiable hungers, the fears and desires against which the Protestant individual must constantly struggle and ultimately triumph; thus, she is also a reminder of what Frank Lestringant calls the "generally accepted" and "profound analogy between alimentary and sexual taboos."[96] And the cave of Errour epitomizes the terrain of deviant appetite, which is at a once a terrifying and seductive place.[97]

In all her disgusting glory, Errour appears as the triumphant creation of a misogynistic, masculine Protestant imagination. A "monster vile, whom God and man does hate" (1.13), her "body full of filthie sin" (1.24), Errour is a hideous form of the Catholic Antichrist. "Halfe like a serpent horribly displaide, / But th' other halfe did womans shape retaine, / Most lothsom, filthie, foule, and full of vile disdaine" (1.14), she embodies all the horrors of Catholicism: false doctrine; carnal worship; gross appetite; revolting progenitor of a degenerate flock; treacherous corruption of Protestants; and ultimately, in death, satanic cannibal mass. Although Errour is described

as an androgynous creature, the use of the feminine pronoun *she* (1.15) clearly marks the creature as female, as demonized womanhood in fact. As the female Antichrist, Errour's physical complexity—she is both slimy serpent and grotesque, fecund female—is a dangerous combination of the Pope, Satan, Rome and the Whore of Babylon.[98] Because of his seductive power, the Antichrist is frequently feminized and referred to in terms of dangerous female promiscuity: "the great whore . . . with whom the kings of the earth have committed fornication, and the inhabitants of the earth have been made drunk with the wine of her fornication."[99]

Against such a fearsome cultural danger the use of preaching alone was considered to be inadequate. Thus anti-papal polemicists such as Arthur Dent advocated military force against the Antichrist: "[T]he Gospell being set abroach, shal detect and discover the Whoore of Rome, and all her abhominable doctrine and filthinesse, which the Christian Princes espying, shall renounce her, make warre upon her, and slay in the field thousande thousands of her soldiers."[100] The desire to destroy Catholicism in England and also in Ireland was a sentiment frequently reiterated in various forms as J. Rhodes's poetic débat attests: "If we were rid of Papists too, Both kingdoms should have lesse to doo."[101] Dent's anti-papal warfare metaphors provide the framework for the Errour episode in which Redcrosse Knight, like one of Dent's Protestant "Christian Princes," aggressively, and without provocation, attacks and brutally executes Catholic Errour.

Errour's cave, into which the Redcrosse Knight plunges so recklessly, is the dark womb of papal ignorance: a place of doctrinal and thus spiritual danger. In his violent penetration of Errour's "unknowne" place of "perill without show" that "breeds dreadful doubts" (1.12), Redcrosse exposes himself to grave spiritual epistemological risk. Una recognizes the spiritual naivety that makes Redcrosse vulnerable to the hidden menace of Catholic doctrine, and her warning, "therefore your stroke / Sir knight with-hold, till further triall made" (1.12), is based on an acute understanding of human susceptibility to doctrinal coercion, similar to that of Thomas Beard who writes, "How great imbecility is in man, and how easie hee is to be transported into error . . . and therefore how needful it is to be pressed to the quicke."[102] Una's use of the words "perill" and "breeds," with their connotations of treacherous contagion, introduces the idea that Redcrosse's contact with Errour exposes him to a doctrinal infection that, once it takes hold, threatens spiritual well-being. The idea that Redcrosse repeatedly puts his spiritual health at risk is reiterated in the figurative language of illness throughout

Book I: his "carelesse of his health" (7.7) attitude leads him to the state where, in Orgoglio's hands, he becomes "a rueful spectacle of death . . . his vitall powres / Decayd, and all his flesh shronk up like withered flowres" (8.40-41).

The motif of Errour as the dangerous spreader of erroneous doctrine is strengthened when the "glistring" light of Protestant truth gives shape to Catholic ignorance (1.14), revealing Errour nurturing her "ill favored" offspring: the "thousand yong ones, which she dayly fed, / Sucking upon her poisonous dugs, eachone / Of sundry shapes, yet all ill favored" (1.15). Behind this provocative image of Errour and her thousand deformed offspring who daily suck her toxic fluids is the insulting disparagement of Catholic doctrine, priests, and practices found in the works of anti-papal polemicists, such as Becon, who frequently employ disease imagery to describe the "pestilent, mischievous, and poisonful doctrine" of the Antichrist's "false prophets" that is absorbed by the "many thousands of mass-priests"—the "creeping beasts without all measure" of "antichristian persuasion" who "hath . . . brast in and overflowed the earth."[103] We see the figurative language of Catholic doctrine as a toxic nourishment elsewhere in Spenser in his description of ignorant Irish papists who have

> drunk not of the pure spring of life, but only tasted of such troubled waters as were brought unto them, the dregs thereof have brought great contagion in their souls, the which daily increasing and being still more augmented with their own lewd lives and filthy conversation, hath now bred in them this general disease, that cannot but only with very strong purgations be cleansed and carried away.[104]

Consistent with the tainted fluids that originate in Errour's body, the poison is traced here to its corrupted source in the demonized doctrine on which the papists nourish themselves.

The curious image of the Antichrist breast-feeding her brood is also a dark travesty of medieval devotional texts and iconography that construct Christ as a nurturing "mother." Both male and female mystics referred to Jesus as "mother," Caroline Bynum explains, because of his "Eucharistic feeding of Christians with liquid exuded from his breast, and his bleeding on the Cross which gave birth to [the] hope of eternal life." Medieval iconography frequently represents blood or wine gushing from Christ's stigmata into chalices or mouths, drawing an analogy between his wound and Mary's breast, offered to the ravenous mouths of sinners: "Not only was Christ enfleshed with flesh from a woman; his own flesh did womanly

things: it bled, it bled food and it gave birth to new life."[105] In this body-centered spirituality, the sacrificial ingestion of Christ's nourishing fluids offers a sense of feasting from Christ that produces the profoundly seductive images of sucking Christ's holy fluids in the work of Catholic and Protestant writers alike. For example, Richard Crashaw's speaker dreams that he will "suck hidden sweets, which well digested proves / Immortal Honey for the Hive of Loves" from Christ's body, and John Donne's dying wish is "to *hang* upon *him* that *hangs* upon the *Crosse,* there *bath* in his *teares,* there *suck* at his *woundes.*"[106]

The somatic spiritual tradition of gendering Christ's salvific body as female lies behind the distorted image of Errour, where it is turned on its head in her portrayal as the Antichrist "mother" whose toxic feedings nourish the hungry priests born of her monstrous Roman womb. In medicine, the power of a drug to heal or destroy lies in the nature of matter. As I point out in chapter 2, the word *pharmakon* is polysemic, translatable as either "remedy" or "poison."[107] Ambiguous in both meaning and function, the pharmakon works either to heal or to aggravate illness. According to Paracelsus, poison possessed medicinal value; its power as a remedy or a poison, like all medicines, depends on the dosage. As Donne reminds us: "To take physicke, and not according to the right method, is dangerous."[108] If we understand the body of Christ as the true Christian pharmakon, bringing healing and salvation to the bodies and souls of all believers, then the poisonous body of the monstrous Antichrist is pharmakon's sinister uncertainty, with the potential either to heal or to destroy all who partake of it. Thus, with the power to destroy rather than to save, Errour is the dangerous antithesis to the healing body of Christ. As in medieval iconography, in which Christ feeds the hungry flock, the Eucharistic implications of Errour's progeny sucking her bodily fluids are clear. Like the "massing monster" of anti-papal doctrine, who alone "severally satisfy himself . . . daily" on the flesh and blood of Christ, Errour's brood, established as creatures of gross diurnal appetites, nourish themselves on her body.[109]

The idea of Errour's malignancy as maternal nourishment is crucial to the unsettling climactic scene of cannibalism toward which the episode builds. Maternal food registers the nexus of cannibalistic associations relating not only to dangerous medical consumptions, the Catholic Mass, and Christ's Eucharistic nourishing of hungry believers but also to the female body nurturing the infant in the womb. Lurking behind the image of Errour feeding her brood in the blackness of ignorance—the "darksome hole" (1.14) that provides a

template for a blind and corrupting womb—is John Donne's vivid description of womb cannibalism:

> There in the wombe wee have eyes and see not, eares and heare not; There in the wombe wee are fitted for workes of darkenes, all the while deprived of light: And there in the wombe wee are taught cruelty, by being fed with blood, and may be damned, though we be never borne.[110]

In the womb, the blind, blood-sucking fetus, feeding and growing in the corrupting blackness of sin and doctrinal ignorance, is first indoctrinated into cannibalism. Likewise, Errour's offspring, born and nourished in her "hellish sinke" (1.22)—the stifling womb of Catholic ignorance from which they never escape—learn the savagery of Eucharistic eating as they suckle on the doctrinal poison of the Antichrist. Unlike Donne's infant, for whom knowledge of the true faith provides an escape from the darkness of sin—and by corollary out of its inherited cannibalistic paganism into civility—fear of the "litle glooming light" (1.14) of Protestant truth glowing from Redcrosse's armor forces the brood back into the Errour's sheltering womb of dark ignorance: "Soon as the uncouth light upon them shone, / Into her mouth they crept, and suddain all were gone" (1.15). In a cultural climate hostile to Catholics, in which Elizabeth I had decreed the practice of Catholicism or the harboring of Catholic priests a treasonable offence, Errour's mouth offers her brood a safe haven.[111] This scene of Errour's priests reentering her womb offers a fascinating reenactment of Rhodes' charges to blood-engorged Catholic priests: "Fil'd yourselves like wolves with blood. / You enter not by Christ the doore, / But by the pope, the Romish whoore."[112] In addition, building on the insistent imagery of perverted eating in which the episode is mired, Errour's swallowing of her brood constitutes pedophagy.

The cannibalistic behavior inherited by the brood is graphically revealed when Redcrosse's Protestant stranglehold on Errour functions as a severe vomitory, forcing her to "[spew] out of her filthy maw / A floud of poison horrible and black" (1.20), the dangerous toxins of her vomit—consistent with the poisonous fluids with which she nourishes her brood—exposing her inherent corruption. The grisly catalogue of the contents of Errour's stomach—in which the telltale signs of cannibalism come first: "Full of great lumpes of flesh and gobbets raw / Which [stink] so vildly" (1.20)—also reveal her as the depraved eater of divine flesh.[113] This graphic synecdoche

of the body of Christ, fragmented, eaten, partly digested, and now regurgitated, offers an alimentary tale of the intestinal journey of the bloody fragments of Christ's flesh—which Baxter imagines in its final disturbing moment as the "filthy and stinking pieces" of Catholic defecation (quoted earlier) and Camporesi describes as the medieval Christian dilemma of introducing "global fragments of heavenly flesh into their infamous bowels."[114] The meaty contents of Errour's effluvia also enacts the fear underpinning a priest's denial of the sacrament to any communicant with an upset stomach: the possibility that they might disgorge Christ.[115] Furthermore, there is a historical resonance between the lumps and gobbets of raw flesh found in Errour's vomit and the reported acts of Catholic cannibalism in the French religious wars, when parts of mutilated Huguenots were publicly traded and consumed by French Catholics.

The continuing inventory of Errour's disgorgement reveals her vomit as "full of books and papers . . . / With loathly frogs and toades, which eyes did lacke" (1.20). It is frequently argued that the textual content of Errour's vomit represents, at one level, anti-Protestant propaganda directed toward Elizabeth I.[116] And, as many have pointed out, the description of the reptiles owes its graphic effectiveness to Revelation 16:13.[117] However, in the terms of my argument, the texts also represent the poisonous doctrine of the Catholic Church—the "pernicious pestilence" propagated by the Antichrist that Errour's brood absorb in their mother's milk.[118] Like the Antichrist's mass, Errour's "hellish sinke" (1.22) is "the sink of all evils, out of the which flow forth with great abundance false religion, heathenish superstition, idolatry, evil opinions, ungodly worshippings, infinite and intolerable errors."[119] The sightless frogs and toads are blind Catholics propagated in the belly of the Antichrist who—unlike the child in Donne's cannibal womb who has hope of birth into knowledge and salvation—remain imprisoned in the dark ignorance of those who are never truly born. In the terms of anti-papal rhetoric, they bring to mind Becon's description of ignorant Catholics: the "locusts that came out of that stinking bottomless pit," who are the "blind guides of the blind."[120]

Of all the rituals of Catholicism, the eating and drinking of the flesh and blood of Christ has always been the most central. Likewise, in the Errour drama the pivotal alimentary moment anxiously anticipated by the pervasive cannibal semiotics of the episode is the Satanic supper in which the Antichrist's brood "devoure their dam" (1.26). In a ghoulishly satirical performance of the Catholic Mass, after Errour's savage decapitation, her "heaven accurst" (1.26) brood "flocked all about

her bleeding wound / And sucked up their dying mothers blood, / Making her death their life, and eke her hurt their good" (1.25). This defiling moment, when the cannibal priests seek eternal redemption from the satanic manna flowing from Errour's stigmata, reverberates with the words of John Bridges in his sermon of 1571: "O cruell *Canibali*, O barbarous Priests."[121] In this grotesque perversion of the Catholic Mass and the Eucharistic belief in the remedial and salvific power of divine matter, Errour's monstrous priests feed greedily on the "cole black bloud" that had "forth gushed" from her sacrificed "corse" (1.24). And the final action of the episode demonstrates the dangers of such greedy gorging when the "deformed monsters"(1.22) self-destruct: "Having all satisfied their bloudy thurst, / Their bellies swolne . . . with fulnesse burst, / And bowels gushing forth" (1.26). Here, the episode's thematizing of the Catholic Eucharist as cannibalism, through the allegorical association of Errour and her brood with all kinds of transgressive eating, is taken to its semantic limit. Both Errour's brood and Spenser's text—and, we sense, the poet himself—have reached a dangerous point of satiation: a peril of excessive appetite to which the brood's physical disintegration offers proof and warning.

In addition to these obvious signs of Catholic perversion, the cannibalization of Errour's corpse is rich with other hermeneutic possibilities. In this transforming moment, Errour's corpse becomes significant matter that demands further interpretation, particularly in its resonance with other, interdependent discourses of cannibalism. The cannibalism of Errour's offspring, who "drunke her life" (1.26) in search of the salubrious benefits of the sanguine cordial of their mother's corpse ("making her death their life") suggests both the religious and medical administration of corpse matter for healing purposes. But in Spenser, both religious and secular forms of ingestion of blood become savage eating; there is no spiritual or physical remedy in this demonic feeding. Rather, the poisonous blood of the Antichrist is the anti-remedy, the impure matter that pollutes. Moreover, there is an uneasy similarity between this Protestant description of depraved matriophagy and a scene of Irish Catholic pedophagy described elsewhere in Spenser, to which the Errour scene offers an analogy. In an attempt to construct an ancient Scythian lineage for the Irish, Spenser describes a moment following the execution of the Irish "traitor" Murrogh O'Brien when "an old woman which was his foster mother took up his head whilst he was quartered and sucked up all the blood running there out, saying that the earth was not worthy to drink it."[122] Spenser's descriptions of the offspring sucking the

mother's blood and the mother sucking the son's blood also resonate with the Catholic image of Christ as nurturing "mother" exemplified in Crashaw's lines:

> Suppose he had been Tabled at thy Teates,
> Thy hunger feels not what he eates:
> Hee'l have his Teat e're long (a bloody one)
> The Mother then must suck the Son.[123]

Crashaw's moving poem of sacrifice and sustenance highlights how Spenser manipulates this imagery, turning this imagery against itself as something unnatural and depraved.[124]

The Errour scene's preoccupation with drinking blood also metonymically suggests the Eucharistic chalice, an expansion of the description in Revelation of the Whore of Babylon, drunk on the blood of saints and martyrs, holding a "golden cup in her hand full of abominations and filthiness of her fornication."[125] In fact, the whore's cup "was often used in Protestant discussions as a synecdoche for the Mass itself."[126] It comes as no surprise that depictions of female evil and sexual promiscuity were also frequently associated with social pathogens such as venereal disease.[127] The enormity of Errour's brood not only intimates that she is licentious, with the implication of the transmission of sexual diseases, but also that she is dangerously prolific. This image of the scarlet harlot that embodies both the anti-papal construction of the Catholic Mass as abject and the Catholic church as pathologically deviant, immorally spreading its contagious doctrine, is a powerful motif in Book I, in which the allegory of Errour as the Whore of Babylon and her association with the poisonous blood of the chalice finds its polemical complement in the apocalyptic figure of Duessa, whose "golden cup" contains "secret poyson" (1.8.14).[128]

Shadowing these representations of Catholic matriophagy and whoredom are the stories of Irish Catholic cannibalism perpetuated in English anti-papal and colonial discourses, such as the story of pedophagy discussed above and the tale attributed to the Jesuit martyr, Edmund Campion, which tells that "The Irishe were great gluttons, eaters of man's flesh, and counted it honorable for parents deceased to be eaten up of their children."[129] In these tales, anti-papal and colonial discourses overlap in an effort to attribute abhorrent eating practices to the savage Other. These constructions are deeply entangled in the binary oppositions that define cultural and religious Otherness throughout Book I of Spenser's poem: for example, the

true religion of Protestantism versus the anti-religion of Catholicism and the paganism of Islam. With its crucial position as the first adventure in *The Faerie Queene*, the Errour episode introduces a form of civility structured in terms of eating that underwrites the rest of the poem and that frequently resurfaces in cannibalistic imagery such as "Ate," that other monstrous eater of human flesh in Book IV, and the "salvages," the Irish cannibals who threaten Serena in Book VI. In this way, Spenser's poem participates in what Ivo Kamps and Jyotsna G. Singh describe as "various modes of othering [that] may have helped to define a Protestant, English national identity, within an emerging proto-imperialist formation."[130]

The Faerie Queene is, in true epic style, a poem about nationhood, and Spenser's vision for England's future is a very Protestant one; thus, the force of Spenser's allegory lies in its creation of a stark distinction between Protestantism and Catholicism. The patriotic vision of the poem and the shaping of cultural and individual values and identity is ordered by Protestantism, and, in this Protestant future, there is no room for the nation's Catholic past or its lingering rituals. The function of the imagery of depraved appetite and false doctrine in the Errour episode is to demonize Catholicism as immoral and ungodly and thus to demarcate the lines of religious and state morality and power. Nevertheless, the persistent reiteration of transgressive eating in the episode—which forcefully marshals the imagery of religious, medical, sexual, and colonial discourses of consuming the body—keeps the alimentary boundaries constantly in crisis. While the entire first book of the poem is grounded in the extremist Protestant message that Catholicism must be eradicated, the intensity and depravity of the imagery in the Errour episode suggests a Protestantism fearful of its own convictions. As I suggest at the beginning of this discussion, Errour is a fantasy of Protestant appetite, an appetite that must constantly be held in check against a range of carnal temptations. The fact that, in their battle, the identities of Redcrosse Knight and Errour come dangerously close to being reduced—or is it seduced?—into one being, reveals the vulnerability of Protestant masculinity to such dangers. Errour is, after all, a specter of insatiable female sexuality—something that Una is not—and the fact that she is also a repository of false Catholic texts by which Redcrosse could easily be seduced makes her doubly harmful. In the end, if we understand Redcrosse Knight as the personification of Protestantism, it follows that, when he is "wrapt in Errours endlesse traine" (1.18), it is Protestantism itself that is in danger of being absorbed into a fantasy of appetite. And this is what Spenser's text repeatedly resists.

The literary preoccupation with the contested Eucharist took many forms. The memory of divine eating that was such a central part of England's recent religious past lingered evocatively in the Protestant consciousness, and the construction of the contested ritual as abject eating that we see in Spenser was a attempt to close the door firmly on that past. In the works of Donne, however, the door to the presence of Christ in the Catholic Eucharist remains partly open and Donne's position on the real nature of the sacrament is never fully declared. This is particularly the case, as I argue in the next section, in the slippery logic of the *Devotions Upon Emergent Occasions,* in which Donne repeatedly evades any direct declaration of desire for divine matter, while at the same time expresses a deep nostalgia for the body of Christ in a complex medical argument that ultimately fixes on mummy as food for the ailing body.

Mummy, "From Whose *Body* the *Physicke* Comes"

"Truth, Lord; but I have marred them; let my shame
Go where it doth deserve."
"And know you not," says Love, "who bore the blame?"
"My dear, then I will serve."
"You must sit down," says Love, "and taste my meat."
So I did sit and eat.

George Herbert, "Love (3)"[131]

The incorruptible spirit of the Lord is in all things: Ergò, *in the effused blood, flesh, fat, and bones, separated from the whole. And lastly, by common experience; for we finde that fat, and blood, and mummy, have singular properties of healing, which they could not have, if all the spirits which they did receive from the living body, were exhaled;* but it is the office onely of the incorruptible Spirit and Word to heale: *and therefore, being these ingredients have an healing property, they must needs in this their existence participate or communicate with this good.*

Robert Fludd, *Dr. Fludd's answer unto M. Foster*[132]

Are the Protestants starving? This question, and my discussion of John Donne's *Devotions Upon Emergent Occasions*, is sparked by the curious fact that, as the Protestant Eucharist was emptied of the consumable body of Christ, the ingestible medical corpse rose to darken the Protestant doorstep. The close parallel between religious reform, which ultimately denied the role of the natural body

in sacramental eating, and medical reform, which advanced the pharmacological ingestion of corpses, raises the intriguing possibility of the medical corpse as uncannily appeasing a residual Protestant hunger.[133] In what follows I explore the possibility of the pharmacological fragment as a potent trace for the loss of divine matter in the Eucharist.[134] There is an interesting, almost symbiotic, relationship between early modern religion and medicine: while many religious images are inspired by the medical benefits of Christ's body, medical advancement frequently has a religious motivation. Grell and Cunningham argue that "the deeply religious nature of attitudes to diseases and their causes and cures held by physicians and other practitioners" reveals that religious inspiration lies behind many innovations in medical practices.[135] Certainly, religious beliefs were a strong stimulus for the incorporation of Paracelsian medical doctrine into mainstream English medicine: both medical and religious reforms were driven by a corresponding antagonism toward the "heathenish" practices of Galenism and Catholicism. This required a radical shift in medical thinking and practice, from Galen's cure by contraries, to Paracelsus's "like cures like" with its central belief that the quintessential medicine for man is man's body. The Eucharistic echoes here, of the transubstantiated flesh and blood of Christ as the supreme drug for humanity, are unavoidable. Moreover, while Paracelsian doctrine certainly had its detractors, the inclusion of Paracelsian corpse pharmacology in the officially sanctioned *Pharmacopoeia Londinensis* of 1618 is evidence that the "new" medicine was accepted into popular medical practice.

The intriguing correlation between the Protestant move from a literal to a figurative eating of Christ, and the increased popularity of a medical practice that privileges the ingestion of corpses, return us to my original question: Are the Protestants starving? Allow me to pose several questions relating to the repercussions of weaning oneself from centuries of communal nurturing on a divine diet. Can corporeal significance be so easily expunged—and thus consigned to memory—from the language of presence, which had for centuries made the body of God palpably available to the communicant, without enduring vestiges of meaning and desire? In a world that understands itself in terms of a symbolic matrix built on the ritual of the eaten body, what happens when the very nature of the sacramental matter of that ritual is subjected to such intense reformulation that the "superior type of food which satisfied a special hunger,"[136] nourishing, comforting, and sustaining Christian communities throughout the ages, is disembodied and reduced to figurative food for the

individual? If we can no longer understand ourselves in an intimate, physical relation with God achieved through oral incorporation, how *do* we understand ourselves? Does the ingestion of the healing corpse suggest a lingering taste for the flesh and blood of Christ?

A profound nostalgic hunger and thirst is expressed in the writings of many of those who turned away from centuries of the alimentary satisfaction produced by the belief that they were literally eating the body of Christ. Such yearning for lost nourishment reveals that, for many, the Protestant theological position on the Real Presence is never fully resolved—it becomes, in fact, a profoundly disturbing absence.[137] This absence finds its frequent expression in early modern literature and sermons. A voracious thirst for every last drop of the denied blood of Christ overwhelms George Herbert's poem "Lucus 34 (To John, leaning on the Lord's breast)," in which he petulantly demands his share of the divine fluid being greedily sucked by others:

> Ah now, glutton, let me suck too!
> You won't really hoard the whole
> Breast for yourself! Do you thieve
> Away from everyone that common well?[138]

Similarly, in Bishop Coverdale's anti-papal criticism, Catholic priests who deny Christ's blood to the laity steal half of the communicants' rightful nourishment:[139]

> For whereas the sacrament of the blood ought to be distributed to the people, as it appeareth by the express commandment of the Lord, they decree that the people ought to be contented with the one half part. So are the miserable Christians by most wicked guile robbed of the benefit that God gave them; neither is it any small benefit to have the communion of the blood of the Lord to nourish us withal: and it is too much cruelty to take that thing violently from them, unto whom it belongeth of right.[140]

An outraged sense that "man cannot live on bread alone" underpins this Protestant indignation at the selfish guzzling of Catholic priests. But there is an odd contradiction in Coverdale's position—common to much of the anti-papal polemic focusing on the Eucharist—whereby on the one hand he denounces the priests who act according to Catholic doctrine, while on the other hand he champions the deprived Catholic laity's right to Christ's blood, which, according to that same doctrine, is the real blood of Christ. As a Protestant

bishop, Coverdale obviously subscribed to the Reformation theology that disembodied the Eucharist; yet this passage exposes an interesting slippage between the Protestant desire to paint the priests as selfish and deluded guzzlers of Christ's blood and the urgent call to share that divine liquid with the laity, behind which lingers a longing to quench an acute Protestant thirst. In the process, Coverdale's use of words such as *benefit* and *nourish*, which acknowledge Christ's blood as both food and a curative elixir promoting spiritual and physical healing, constructs Eucharistic consumption as medical consumption as well. With the removal of the corporeal from, the Eucharist—divine matter—with its nurturing and healing potency, becomes a symbolic sign; yet the appetite for the nourishing and nurturing powers of the real flesh and blood of Christ revealed in this passage reflects Donne's deep ambiguity toward the Eucharist.

There is much speculation about Donne's own theological position on the doctrine of the Eucharist, with strong claims made for the various influences of Roman Catholic, Calvinistic, and Anglican doctrine on his Eucharistic imagery.[141] Eleanor McNees, arguing for Donne's allegiance to Anglican doctrine, writes that he avoids taking a position on the nature of the Eucharist and that his divine poems "stop just short of actual communion in the Eucharistic meal, and thus they neither commemorate the Eucharist as mere symbol nor assert it as miraculous transubstantiation." Rather, McNees continues, Donne stresses that a union with Christ's body in the Eucharist is only possible through an individual's identification with Christ's sacrifice.[142] The *Sermons* tell a similar story, their shifting perspectives on the issue of the Real Presence revealing Donne's own ambiguity toward the mysterious nature of Eucharistic food: "In the sacramental supper of the Lamb it is very hard to tell what we feed upon . . . how the body and blood of Christ is received by us at that supper in that sacrament is hard to be expressed, hard to be conceived for the way and manner thereof."[143]

Donne's reluctance to commit wholly to a position of Eucharistic disembodiment is compatible with the intensely body-centered nature of his writing and worship—what Terry G. Sherwood identifies as Donne's epistemology of the body:

> Few writers keep the eye so keenly trained on the body as he does; few observe with such dissecting intellect its sweaty hands, resident insects, tears and sighs, excretions, lingering illness, decay and dissolution; few submit their dissections so vigorously to the unflagging control of

> logical similitudes that refer the body and the details of its experience to the soul, to the material world, or to the social world.[144]

Such microscopic observations of the body and its mysterious workings go hand in hand with Donne's fascination with, and broad knowledge of, medicine, in particular Paracelsian medicine, which his texts reveal.[145] His treatment of Paracelsus in the anti-Catholic satire, *Ignatius his Conclave*—in which he has the demonized Catholic Machiavelli decry the Protestant Paracelsus as a "cadaverous vulture . . . practiced in the butcheries, and mangling of men"—reveals a skeptical tolerance of the "new" medicine, consistent with his backhanded praise of Paracelsus's influence on contemporary medicine: "The world hath turned upon new principles which are attributed to *Paracelsus,* but (indeed) to much to his honour."[146] However, in spite of Donne's apparent ambivalence toward Paracelsus—which is perhaps intentional, given his penchant for paradoxes—his work is saturated with medical imagery that draws enthusiastically on Paracelsian doctrine.[147]

Devotions Upon Emergent Occasions, Donne's intensely personal and vividly graphic description of a long and dangerous illness, brings together his fascination with the human body and medicine more vividly than in any of his other works. This careful, clinical narrative of the fluctuating stages of Donne's illness—in which his body constantly surprises and betrays—is mapped against his own theological system, wherein the true nature of Christ's presence in the sacrament, and how it is manifested in the individual, remains remarkably ambivalent.[148] And yet, as the *Devotions* show by their obsessive dwelling on the sacramental eating and drinking of corporeal matter, uncertainty over the absence or presence of Christ's body in the Eucharist has implications for Donne's experiences of his own body, creating epistemological and ontological anxieties that the text attempts to negotiate. In Donne's corporeal epistemology, experiences of the body are also experiences of the soul: "In the state of my *body* . . . thou dost *effigiate* my Soule to me" ("22. Expostulation," 119).[149] Thus, Donne's obsessive focus on his most intimate bodily experiences of suffering yields knowledge of the suffering of the soul. Bodily corruption reveals spiritual corruption, and each calls for powerful medical intervention, both secular and divine.

However, the distinction that the *Devotions* attempts to make between secular and divine medicine is increasingly difficult to sustain, and the possibility of the medical corpse as an alimentary replacement for the body of Christ becomes compelling when Donne's anxious

desire for a special kind of Eucharistic matter and the ingestible corpse remedy prescribed for him in the final stages of his illness converge. The text offers a fascinating catalogue of the early modern physician's pharmacological arsenal—their "*munition*, their *cordials* to *defend*" ("19. Expostulation," 99)—that includes various elixirs, purgatives, a pigeon poultice, and ultimately mummy, administered in the fight against Donne's illness. In the Meditation in Devotion 22, Donne's intellectualization of the physician's use of the mummy corpse physic, essential to "cure the *disease its selfe*" ("22. Meditation," 117), clearly subscribes to Paracelsian homeopathic doctrine that the most powerful healing properties lie in the dead body of another. In his hypothesis of the pharmacological relationship between the eater and the eaten, Donne explains the superior curative value of ingesting dead human flesh:

> ([N]o part of my *body*, if it were cut off, would *cure* another part; in some cases it might *preserve* a sound part, but in no case *recover* an infected) and, if my *body* may have my *Physicke*, any *Medicine* from another *body*, one *Man* from the flesh of another *Man* (as by Mummy, or any such *composition*,) it must bee from a man that is dead .... There is nothing in the same *man*, to helpe *man*, nothing in *mankind* to helpe *one another*, (in this sort, by way of *Physicke*) but that hee who *ministers* the *helpe*, is in as ill case, as he that *receives* it would have beene, if he had not had it; for hee, from whose *body* the *Physicke* comes, is *dead*. ("22. Meditation," 117)

The message that healing cannot come from within the self is consistent with Donne's assertion in his sermon at The Hague that "no man can renew himselfe, regenerate himselfe."[150] For Donne, the remedy is simple and homeopathic: the power to restore his health lies not within his own body but externally, within someone else's corpse, and its effectiveness requires the incorporation of that "*physicke*" into the self. Donne's thinking here has much in common with today's practice of extending life (which depends on medical definitions of death) through organ transplantation. As Scheper-Hughes states, "The 'gift of life' demands a parallel gift—the 'gift of death.' "[151] For Donne, the therapeutic corpse with its mysterious healing virtue is a gift from God, "who has imprinted all medicinall virtues, which are in all creatures" ("11. Prayer," 61) and who makes Donne's recovery possible.

But any reading of this passage in purely medical terms is jeopardized by the fascinating lexical confusion in the text between secular physicians and the divine Physician. The vocabulary that describes

their physical and spiritual roles and remedies constantly shifts between the literal and the metaphoric to perplex understandings of the nature of illness, drugs, and healing. This rhetorical slippage produces a polysemy wherein the physicians who heal Donne's body are themselves compelled by the divine healer ("20. Expostulation," 109) and physic is at once the remedy prescribed by Donne's physician, the Eucharist, and the illness itself that is God's spiritual corrective ("11. Prayer," 61; "15. Expostulation," 89). The secular physicians carry out bodily purging, while the divine Physician purges the soul ("20. Prayer," 109). This is further complicated by the fundamental principle with which Donne struggles: that the body/soul duality is the contagious seat of physiological and spiritual pollution: "We may wel consider the *body*, before the *soule* came, before *inanimation*, to bee *without sinne*; *Sinne* is the *roote*, and the *fuell* of all *sicknesse*, and yet that which destroies *body* & *soul*, is in *neither*, but in *both together*; It is in the *union* of the *body* and *soule*." ("22. Expostulation," 18).[152]

Within this dichotomy of physical and spiritual sin, illness is God's medicine for the sinner, and any sign of healing, like the illness itself, has twofold implications:

> Thy *correction* hath wrought *medicinally* upon mee, presume I upon that *spirituall strength* I have; but as I acknowledge, that my *bodily strength* is subject to every *puffe of wind*, so is my *spirituall strength* to every *blast of vanitie*. Keepe me therefore still . . . in such *proportion* of both *strengths*. ("21. Prayer," 115)

The inseparability of physical and spiritual disease calls for the administering of special kinds of treatments that go beyond the obvious physiological problem to address the more complex equilibrium between the body and soul.[153] While the physicians address the physical "*root*, the *fuell*, the *occasion* of my *sickness*" ("22. Expostulation,"118), the "deeper" cause, which "lies in my *soule,*" requires the attention of the "great *Physitian*" who alone has the power to address and effect a complete cure, through redemption and salvation "by *glorifying* these *bodies* in the next world" ("22. Meditation," 117; "22. Expostulation," 118).

The supreme remedy for both body and soul, offering eternal redemption and salvation, is the Eucharist. To eat that "heavenly *food* and *Physicke*" ("15. Prayer," 81) is to incorporate Christ's salvific power, as Donne makes clear in the *Sermons:* "There was no salvation, except they did eat and drink that Flesh and Blood."[154] In the *Devotions,* God's ability to be the "great therapist"[155] is described as

a mysterious manifestation in the body of Christ in the sacrament: "Thou in thy *Son* art the *Phisician*, the *applyer* of both" spiritual and bodily health ("4. Prayer," 23), and the provider of the "*Cordiall Blood*" drunk for "my recoverie" ("11. Prayer," 61). With this medieval description of Christ as the divine healer through his presence in the sacrament, a description consistent with Donne's imperative that the only path to salvation is divine eating and drinking, Donne comes close to a theology of the Real Presence. While, as Johnson argues, there is the possibility that Christ's healing presence is to be found in the communicant, not in the sacrament, this interpretation comes under pressure in the face of the persistent suggestion that, behind the textual tensions over Eucharistic eating, God is physically present as Physician and remedy in the embodied host.[156]

The trace of the physical body of Christ is constantly present in the *Devotions*, and Donne's anxious relinquishment to God of any responsibility for interpreting what he really tastes and eats in the Eucharist raises the possibility that what Donne longs to savor is real divine matter, now relegated to metaphor in the Protestant communion:

> O *eternall*, and *most gracious God*, who gavest to thy servants in the wilderness, thy *Manna*, bread so conditiond, qualified so, as that, to every man, *Manna tasted like that, which that man liked best*, I humbly beseech thee, to make this correction which I acknowledg to be part of my *daily bread*, to tast so to me, not as I would but as thou wouldest have it taste, and to conform my tast, and make it agreeable to thy will. ("7. Prayer," 39)

The complex paradox of this passage describes God's correction of the sickness with which Donne struggles—identified elsewhere as God's "*Physicke*" ("15. Expostulation," 80)—in terms of the sacrament: as food to be tasted. Donne's reluctance to take any position on the real or figurative presence of Christ is obvious. The constitution of the bread depends, not on Church doctrine, but on Christ's words at the Last Supper. Instead of an Anglican emphasis on the sacrificial that McNees identifies in Donne's work, the focus here is on the physical, on God's power to control the flavor of the Eucharist and to conform Donne's taste according to God's will.[157] Thus, the ambiguity of the Eucharist is preserved: it is whatever food God wants for us or, in other words, whatever food we think God wants for us. The nostalgic tone of Donne's desire for manna with a particular flavor—a taste that he asks God to define—forms a gustatory link with the different, superior taste of the food "that man likes best," while also hinting

at a more physically and spiritually satisfying food. Furthermore, the bread that offers Donne complete satisfaction is threefold: "the *spirituall bread of life,* in a faithfull assurance in *thee;* the *sacramental bread of life,* in a worthy receiving of *thee;* and the *more reall bread of life,* in an everlasting *union to thee*" ("21. Prayer," 115); it is this "real" bread—with its unavoidable semantic implications of the Real Presence—which, by bringing the eater and the eaten physically into one another, will finally satiate corporeal longing.

As do many of Donne's other writings, the *Devotions* describe his desperate desire for a relationship of dependency with God that becomes even more urgent during this time of sickness. Through the course of his illness, Donne has doggedly negotiated a patient/filial relationship with the divine Physician/Father, and his terror that God will abandon him and thus bring about a relapse is clear in his appeal to God at the end of his ordeal:

> My *God*, my *God,* my *God*, thou mightie *Father*, who hast beene my *physitian*; Thou glorious *Sonne*, who hast beene my *physicke*; Thou blessed *Spirit*, who hast *prepared* and *applied* all to mee, shall *I alone* be able to overthrow the worke of *all you,* and *relapse* into those *spirituall sicknesses*, from which your infinite *mercies* have withdrawn me? ("23. Expostulation," 122)

Here we see Donne's deeply seated reliance on God. "The fear of being left alone," writes Shuger, "and the corresponding desire for any contact with God, even painful, forms a steady refrain in Donne's writings."[158] Shuger introduces psychological theory to explain Donne's longing for dependence on a power figure, an emotion that resembles the simultaneous anger toward and need for "the all-powerful yet terrifyingly absent parent" expressed by "the infant who screams for his mother's breast."[159] The argument that Donne's desire for a relationship of dependence has its source in the denial of the maternal breast has fascinating implications for my study that Shuger does not explore. The loss of the mother's breast is analogous to the loss of the nourishing, healing body of Christ in the Eucharist—each absence creating a deeply rooted oral nostalgia and dependency. Thus, what we identify in the *Devotions* as Donne's alimentary longing reveals a profound hunger to eat and drink from the originary body of Christ. The painful nostalgia for the lost alimentary union with Christ—which we see expressed in the "*suck* at his *wounde*" passage from *Death's Duel* quoted earlier—underpins the subtle interchange of the figurative language of medicine and food

that the *Devotions* uses in an attempt to mediate a special kind of oral union.[160]

The relationship between the individual and God is part of a universal corporeal chain in which what happens to an individual body has an intense impact on all other bodies. While illness is an alienating experience, one that separates the invalid from the healthy community, in Donne's economics of human connectedness, death is a universal loss that has the profound effect of lessening each and every one of us: "No Man is an *Iland,* intire of it selfe . . . Any Mans *death* diminishes *me,* because I am involved in *Mankinde;* And therefore never send to know for whome the *bell* tolls; It tolls for *thee*" ("17. Meditation," 87). And yet there is a life-enhancing benefit to this loss. As Donne's illness progresses, his sense of alienation and his need for God become more pronounced; facing death, he turns to the dead for the healing message of meaning and hope carried in the bell: "I, by the meditation of *his death,* produce a better *life* in my selfe . . . If the death of this man worke not upon mee now, I shall die worse, than if thou hadst not afforded me this helpe: for thou has sent *him* in this *bell* to me . . . that in this weaknes of *body,* I might receive spiritual strength" ("18. Expostulation," 94–95). Here, the dead body of another transferred to Donne through the ringing of the bell—not to be eaten but to be conjured up and meditated upon—is spiritually efficacious, serving an important function in the healing of Donne's soul.

The Paracelsian "like cures like" undertones recognizable in Donne's description of the spiritually therapeutic role of the dead are also evident in 22. Meditation (quoted above) when the physicians turn to the human corpse itself for Donne's physical healing in the final days of his illness. In a text saturated with the figurative language of the Eucharist and medicine, in which what McNees calls Donne's "inability to grasp hold of Christ's body or to nourish his own"[161] sharpens a profound, unfulfilled hunger for divine corpse food, "mummy" mediates the absence of the divine body in the sacramental meal. This finds sequential support in the significant fact that Donne's rationalization of the corpse drug in Meditation 22 immediately follows his fervent anticipation of receiving the sacrament in Prayer 21. In this ritual setting, the body administered to appease Donne's Eucharistic hunger is not Christ's absent body, but the metonymically suggestive pharmacological corpse. I.M. Lewis argues that "where a tabooed negative action—eating human flesh—acquires positive force, the ritual consumption of parts of the human body enables the consumer to acquire something of the body's vital

energy." This form of cannibalism "is perhaps *the* prototype of sacrificial communion."[162] In these terms, the ingested pharmacological corpse, provider of the quintessential remedy for a whole host of physical ills, carries the salvific burden of that far mightier corpse, the supreme source of spiritual and physical salvation. Furthermore, just as the communicant incorporates Christ's power through Eucharistic eating, Donne views healing power as residing not within one's own body but in the body of another, to be incorporated through ingestion. In the end, the only natural body available for eating is the dead body from which "the *Physicke* comes."

The idea of the medical corpse as a Eucharistic trace returns us to the Luther broadsheet image at the beginning of this chapter, with its fascinating interplay of medical and Eucharistic cannibal references. The image of the anatomized Luther being dissected and eaten by his followers is mired in the practices and discourses relating to the eaten body that Spenser and Donne mobilize in their texts, albeit in quite different ways. What both of these writers illustrate is that the Protestant challenge to the doctrine and ceremony of the Catholic Eucharist had a profound impact on believers, regardless of their theological convictions. In their work, Donne and Spenser each mediate this impact through the expression of alimentary desire that is inevitably imagined in cannibalistic terms. The different form that this takes in each text speaks to the resilient suggestiveness of the idea of the consumption of human flesh, whether religious, culinary, medical, or sexual. Furthermore, the idea of mummy as a corporeal trace conveyed by the Luther image reminds us of the multitemporality of the human corpse that I discuss in the introduction, and the uncanny lingering of the life with which it was associated that haunts its material present.

The conviction that mummy is embedded with the trace of a previous life is a powerful catalyst for exploring epistemological fantasies of what the body means, particularly when the body in question is female. The masculine privileging of the notion of female chastity, and the anxiety surrounding female sexuality in the age, created a medical desire for virginal female mummy, *fille vièrge,* which is underwritten by the belief that in death a woman's virginity, or sexual virtue, is hermetically sealed in her corpse. In the following chapter, I show how Shakespeare's *Othello* and Donne's *Anniversaries* attempt to reduce the female corpse to its virtuous essence. The idea of carnal consumption that these texts keep in play—behind which hovers the seductive belief in the therapeutic power of corporeal matter—has fascinating implications when it is enlisted in a gendered sociomedical

discourse underwritten by a deeply embedded cultural distrust of the nature of women, their bodies, and their sexuality. In these texts, the corpses of Desdemona and Elizabeth Drury are each imagined as *fille vièrge* (virginal female mummy) preserved and distilled to the fine medicinal essence of their lives, to be appropriated and consumed as a drug for ailing masculinity.

Chapter 5

The *Fille Vièrge* as Pharmakon: *Othello* and the *Anniversaries*

But the body of the maiden (known as such from its small size) I did not care to excavate entirely, since… it was not well preserved. However, I had it broken into pieces in my presence, first to see what the bones with the bitumen were like under the bindings, and then to have some of the substance, which as you know is esteemed for its medicinal qualities: and here they say that the best comes from the maidens and the bodies of virgins.

Pietro Della Valle, *The Pilgrim*.[1]

I am not of that feard Impudence that I dare defend Women, or pronounce them good; yet we see Physitians allow some vertue in every poyson. Alas! Why should we except Women? since certainely, they are good for Physicke at least, so as some wine is good for a feaver.
John Donne, Paradox 6: "That it is possible to find some vertue in Some Women."[2]
To dig the strumpet's eyes out, let her lie
Some twenty months a-dying, to cut off
Her nose and lips, pull out her rotten teeth,
Preserve her flesh like mummia, for trophies
Of my just anger.

Isabella in John Webster, *The White Devil*[3]

Within the pharmacological corpse economy inscribed by male physicians, the quest for the best mummy was a response to the

desire for good health and protection from disease. To this end, the mummy of the *fille vièrge* was identified as the most therapeutically valuable form of mummy. Subscribing to a gendered cultural and medical ideology, in the epigraph quoted above the traveler Pietro Della Valle (1586–1652) unequivocally states: "The best [mummy] comes from the maidens and the bodies of virgins." Attesting to the pervasiveness of this medical motif, in his 1824 *Des sepultures nationals*, Jean Baptiste de Roquefort also notes that mummy from embalmed virgins was considered to be especially efficacious and was therefore more expensive.[4] These observations—that dead girls offer the best cure—seem extraordinary. However, at one level the privileging of *fille vièrge* mummy can be understood in terms of the artificial needs, scarcities, and new commodities inspired by today's global trade in body parts that Scheper-Hughes identifies. Similarly, in the early modern medical corpse market, the construction of the *fille vièrge* corpse as a luxury item with its inflated cost suggests that this is an artificially created scarcity invented by male physicians. At another level, such privileging can be understood in light of the powerful regulatory myths of the female body, the cultural touchstone for which is the belief that the real flesh of Christ "was created from a virgin by the Spirit, without coition."[5] The persistent reiteration of these myths serves to reinforce cultural stereotypes about the dangerous instabilities and secrets of female corporeality, while also shoring up what Gail Kern Paster has described as "the culture's notorious obsession with female chastity."[6] In these terms, the medical representation of the *fille vièrge* as the ideal mummy remedy is a troubling symptom of a masculine pathology exhibited as an obsessive need to know and control the female body and female sexuality. Given the masculine scientific desire for epistemological mastery of such a threatening corporeality, evidenced by the numerous gynecological and obstetrical texts in circulation, and the insatiable fascination with penetrating and discovering the female body in early modern anatomy theaters, it is no surprise that the virginal female body, pure of heart and unblemished, was represented as possessing an unequaled potency—more efficacious and more exquisite than any other corpse could yield.[7] Such a belief is possible within the larger context of what Marie H. Loughlin describes as "the powerful, pervasive, and enduring cultural fiction of the unbroken hymen as the surety of a woman's sexual innocence."[8]

The idea of *fille vièrge* mummy takes the fiction of the unbroken hymen a step further in a medical myth of the sexually innocent maid mummified, and thus frozen in time. This myth raises many

questions, not least of which relates to the establishment of the virginal state of the corpse, something that the anatomist Vesalius went to some lengths to try to identify. The search for the virginal female corpse gave rise to stories such as the one related by Puschmann, which tells of Vesalius who,

> wishing to solve the, at the time, undecided problem as to the existence of the *hymen virginitatis*, was in a state of embarrassment as to where he could get a suitable female subject, Cosmo de Medici placed at his disposal the corpse of a pious nun who had died a short time before. As a result of this . . . it was possible to give its due weight to this important attribute of virginity, which it had hitherto been impossible to do, since the bodies of the maidens brought from the gallows as a rule were no longer in possession of this structure.[9]

It seems inevitable that the masculine obsessions with female sexual purity that gave rise to the medical stories of attempts to discover the hymen should also produce similar tales of virginal female mummy.

In early modern literature, the seductive idea of an ingestible virginal female corpse, replete with pharmacological potency, underpins the fetishization of the female body as food, frequently conceived of as at once salvific and sacrificial—we see this, for example, in the treatment of Aminta in *The Sea Voyage* and of Serena in *The Faerie Queene*, which I discuss in chapter 3. But the sociomedical privileging of the preserved and thus socially contained *fille vièrge* mummy as a highly desirable curative stands in direct opposition to constructions of the uncontrolled female body as a decidedly undesirable form of mummy. As Marie-Christine Pouchelle explains, the female body was seen as a "repository of pollution which should preferably remain hermetically sealed (in virginity)."[10] We see this contradiction in John Marston's *Antonio's Revenge* in the figure of Mellida, who is described as at once "Love's vital spirit" and "faire unspotted puritie" (1.3.129–133), and "the strumpet in her bridal robes" who "may blush t'appeare so white in showe, / And black in inward substance (4.2.11–13). John Donne pushes this imagery further in "Love's Alchemy," which expresses anxiety over what lies unseen in the female body. "Hope not for mind in women" the speaker warns almost with a sigh of relief, "at their best / Sweetness and wit, they are but mummy, possessed" (23–24).[11] Thus, it is not worth exploring what lies concealed in women, for this is an unknowable substance; instead, like mummy they are safely enclosed vessels. Donne's use of mummy as a metaphor for what lies hidden in women plays with conflicting cultural and medical notions about the dangers of female sexuality and fantasies of the female body

forever embalmed in its virginal state of sweetness and wit, fantasies underpinned by the fear of what might happen if women's bodies are not contained and controlled. In this logic, the hymen should never be broken—to do so would release contagion—rather, it should remain permanently intact to ensure the full range of salvific benefits from female mummy. Here again we see the double-edged pharmakon—the body as both poison and remedy—of *Titus* and *The Faerie Queene*. This medical contradiction drives the gender politics in *Othello* and the *Anniversaries*, wherein the female body figures contagion or cure, depending on the circumstances.[12]

Both Shakespeare in *Othello* and Donne in the *Anniversaries* employ a metaphorics of medicine in order to imagine the female body as the *fille vièrge* panacea for sick masculinity. But efforts to interpret these texts as diagnostic are repeatedly frustrated by the fact that the texts themselves seem to feed on the corpses of virtuous women, thus rendering the play and the poems as symptomatic of the culture's anxiety about women's sexual behavior. The figure of the female corpse is semiotically critical in these texts in which myths of female chastity and representations of the healing power of ingested virginal corpse matter fuse into powerful themes of female sacrifice and male salvation. In Shakespeare and Donne, representations of dead women are connected to the medical treatment of corpses and to the cultural construction and subjection of women's bodies. Obsessive in their efforts to alleviate acute masculine anxiety and disillusionment, both texts bring together the idea of the female virginal body as salvific, with a desire to regulate female sexuality. To this end, both texts target women's bodies as sites for masculine intervention and consumption; however, as I show, each text imagines and positions the female body in different ways, with different consequences.

Masculine jealousy in *Othello*, which has its culminating moment in Othello's vision of Desdemona's body as the efficacious corpse drug—contained and preserved in purity—is the product of a deeply rooted epistemological anxiety over the true nature of women and their bodies, and a pathological need to control women's bodies and their sexual appetites. The figurative language of cannibalism in the play, imagines men as consumers of women's bodies, and reveals the masculine investment in Desdemona's corpse in which the play is disturbingly involved. Desdemona's corpse is the end product of relentless attempts to contain the female body that are driven by acute masculine paranoia toward women—exhibited in the play as irrational jealousy, possessiveness, and insecurity. While masculine anxiety and female chastity are also prevailing themes of the *Anniversaries*,

the poems reveal a different kind of fixation—manifested as intense spiritual and physical desire—that deploys the idea of the chaste female body in a different way. In the *Anniversaries* there is no *actual* body; rather, the virginal Elizabeth Drury is imagined as already fragmented and distilled into Paracelsian mummy. She becomes in death the lingering trace of the vital source that her body contained in life: a barely definable essence, co-opted for Donne's poetic project of promoting himself as the sole author on whose writing the recuperation of the spiritually sick world depends.[13] However, in the *Anniversaries*, the eroticized virginal quintessence is sublimated into the pages of the poems to form a Eucharistic healing offering for the ailing masculine soul. In this way, in both Shakespeare and Donne, women are metaphorically defused, preserved in an innocent—and therefore non-threatening—state of chastity, thus forming a powerful pharmacological arsenal of sexual purity to be ingested in the service of cultural (read masculine) well-being.

MAIDENS' HEARTS AND THE MASCULINE DISEASE OF JEALOUSY

> From a curious inspection into the Mumies brought from *Aegypt*, it may be concluded, that the Aegyptians and their followers had two sorts of Embalming, the one curious, and costly for great and rich Men; the other cheap, for the common and poorer sort. In the costly way, they used as well outwardly for anointing and dipping the linen Shrowds in, as for stuffing the three Ventricles, divers aromatick Spices, which by their innate Balsamick Virtue, by their bitterness also, and odeous Sulphur, or the penetrability of their volatil Salt, resist putrefaction; and by their sweet Smell prevent stench and offensiveness; such as *Opobalsamum*, Oil of Cedar, Aloes, Myrrh, Saffron, Cinamon, *Cassia*, etc. This was for the Rich. For the poorer sort, they used either *Asphalltus,* which is the *Bitumen Judaicum*, that comes off the dead Sea; or *Pissasphaltum,* which is a mixture of Pitch and *Bitumen*.
>
> Dr. Alexander Read, *Chirurgorum Comes*[14]

Othello is haunted, in both the play's language and preoccupations, by medical consumptions of the female corpse. The flesh of the female corpse is semiotically critical in *Othello*; the myths of female chastity, and the salvific healing power of the ingestible virginal corpse, operate alongside the rhetoric of cannibalism in which men are identified as eaters of women. Victim of the pathological condition of masculine jealousy that troubles the play, Desdemona is at once a therapeutic trope offering an ingestible remedy and food for men. However, the

frustrating paradox of the play lies in the fact that, ultimately, there is no masculine healing precisely because the belief that the female corpse offers a cure is actually a symptom of the very pathology that the *fille vièrge* is supposed to cure. In other words, the myth of dead virgins as remedy is fueled by the pathological fear of, and desire to regulate, women's bodies. Moreover, the disturbing implication in *Othello* is that in the absence of any masculine healing, the consumption of women offers a powerful alternative vision of the investments in Desdemona's corpse in which the play is involved.

The symbolic significance of Desdemona's corpse in *Othello* derives from several sources: a therapeutic model in which the pharmacological power of the ingested body is central, a gynecological model that constructs the female body as dangerously unstable and insatiable, and a medical economic model that privileges the healing power of the embalmed virginal female corpse.[15] When Iago declares, "So will I turn her virtue into pitch" (2.3.355), we witness not only Iago's vengeful design to "enmesh them all" (2.3.357) by blackening Desdemona's reputation, but a more sinister masculine "thaumaturgic-cum-pharmacological logic" that prescribes the curative virtues of the ingested virginal female corpse and its by-products, mediated and transformed through various processes—execution, violation, dissection, preservation, and distillation.[16] In terms that resonate with Read's description of Egyptian embalming in the epigraph above, Iago imagines his scheme for Desdemona's destruction as an alchemical metamorphosis of her virtuous body into what Read identifies as the "poorer sort" of mummy preserved in bitumen and pitch. As the play develops, we witness Iago's sinister fantasy—to transform Desdemona's "goodness" (2.3.356) into the black tar-like substance found in embalmed bodies—ripen into Othello's tortured vision in which Desdemona is progressively figured as mummy.

In *Othello*, masculine jealousy, exhibited as irrational fluctuations between morbid suspicions of women and fantasies about them, is the chief symptom of a fear of the intolerable nature of women. Iago, whose own jealous imaginings of Emilia "gnaw" at his bowels "like a poisonous mineral" (2.1.295), stirs the shared paranoia toward women that drives the play. Exploiting Othello's predisposition to jealousy, Iago plots to "pour this pestilence into his ear" (2.3.351), thus goading Othello with his insinuations about Desdemona to "a jealousy so strong / That judgment cannot cure" (2.1.299–300). This fear is mediated through the regulation of women's bodies, and the threat to women lies in the destructive potential of such dangerous masculine logic. Shakespeare associates his saga of pathological masculine

anxiety with other discourses of the body, particularly cannibalism and European medical discourse, with its descriptions of epilepsy and mummy and its gendered economics. In the play, the discourse of cannibalism, deployed simultaneously with the discourse of female virginal mummy, offers a reading of the medicinal use of the female body for cannibalistic consumption. Thus, in this corporeal equation, Desdemona's corpse is *fille vièrge:* as the aromatic, embalmed virgin corpse of Othello's imagination, she is the dramatic embodiment of the supreme mummy remedy.

A metaphorics of cannibalism permeates the play, with characters constructed as both eaters of human flesh and human flesh to be eaten. Thus, bodily integrity is repeatedly reinscribed and the eater/eaten boundary is constantly shifted, giving us a moveable feast, so to speak. Supporting Desdemona's appeal to accompany him to Cyprus, Othello denies his cannibalistic intent when he argues that he desires her presence "not / To please the palate of my appetite" (1.3.263); however, this is immediately contradicted when she becomes the viscid "honey" "sweet[ner]" to his "comforts" (2.1.203–206) upon their arrival in Cyprus. In the terms of my argument for the semiotic connection between cannibalism and the medical use of the body in the play, Desdemona's melliferousness is significant: honey, considered to have a special cleansing power, was an important ingredient in the early modern pharmacological store.[17] In this form, Desdemona is both a sugary treat and a soothing, purifying drug for Othello's "tempest[s]" (2.1.183). Iago, on the other hand, fueled by his own sexual perversity and destructive appetite, sees the relationship between Desdemona and Othello, in which each is at once eater and eaten, as a cannibalistic sexual banquet which will soon turn rancid and predicts that, "The food that to him now is luscious as locusts shall be to him shortly as acerb as coloquintida. She must change for youth: when she is sated with his body" (1.3.348–351).

However, the women never identify themselves as sexual cannibals; rather, they are constructed as such by the men who, in Othello's words, identify women as a whole race of "delicate creatures" whose "appetites" (3.3.273–274) men wish to contain. But, ultimately the unstable eater/eaten boundary demarcates men as the cannibalistic consumers who, in their downward spiral of insecurity, are imagined and imagine themselves as, eaters of the flesh of women. This is clearly the case when Othello, incensed by the fear that Desdemona might "cuckold" him, threatens to turn butcher and convert her into dissected food, and "chop her into messes" (4.1.196). Furthermore, Emilia, who registers men as the cannibalistic eaters of women, brings

the point home even more powerfully when she declares: "They are all but stomachs, and we all but food: / They eat us hungerly, and when they are full / They belch us" (3.4.105–107). Here the play's rhetoric of cannibalism is explicit: the flesh of women is the food for the jealous appetites of men whose stomachs are the greedy zones of corporeal mediation and conquest—women's nourishing goodness is greedily snatched, gnawed, swallowed, and ejected as wind.

Emilia's wary recognition of the dangerous appetites of men, directly following as it does her witnessing of the handkerchief confrontation between Desdemona and Othello, makes Othello's description of the missing handkerchief ominously significant.[18] At this crucial juncture, Emilia also draws the connection between Othello's jealousy—"Is not this man jealous?" (3.4.100)—and the masculine hunger for women's bodies that the play depicts. The jealous paranoia suffered by Othello, figured as epilepsy, is a symptom of an obsessive cultural distrust of women's sexual fidelity. In a society in which men are consumed by such distrust, it seems inevitable that this anxiety should be mediated through women's bodies; therefore, the attempt to capture and preserve some kind of pure essence in the female corpse comes as no surprise. However, the inescapably dangerous corollary to this trope is that the live female body contains the potential for the most desirable healing flesh, a priceless essence realizable only in death and consumption. Moreover, and herein lies the disquieting threat to women, the construction of the virginal female corpse as the ideal remedy insinuates that the only truly chaste female body is a dead, embalmed one. In these terms, when Othello describes the complexities of his mother's handkerchief to Desdemona, his words, like the handkerchief, are interwoven with sinister implications for women and their bodies.

As a marker of Desdemona's sexual chastity, the "disturbing handkerchief" (as Linda Boose calls it) signifies the quintessence of women: the female body preserved in its fullest potential—unblemished, virginal, chaste—reduced to a post-human derivative.[19] It is significant to my argument that Desdemona constructs her own body in terms of contained purity: "If to preserve this vessel for my lord / From any hated foul unlawful touch / Be not to be a strumpet, I am none" (4.2.85–87). However, preserving female chastity is a bloody task. Saturated with female corpses, the handkerchief is heavy with the portentous message of women's voices. Mediated through Othello, we hear the warning chorus of the sybil; the Egyptian charmer; Othello's mother; and, most telling for Desdemona, the virgins whose pure bodily essences are contained in the dissected, embalmed hearts that

give color and pharmacological power to the handkerchief: "There's magic in the web of it. [. . .] it was dyed in mummy, which the skilful / Conserved of maidens' hearts" (3.4.71 and 76–77). The threat to Desdemona is obvious. The dyeing of cloth is a deliberate and careful process, but here it is destabilized by the bodily violence that underpins the bloody production of the handkerchief. The ominous punning significance of *dyed*, with its connotation of death, shatters what appears to be the magical charm of the handkerchief. In its multivalences, *dyed* also suggests dead women, mutilated female bodies, staining virgins' blood, and—of course—male orgasm.

In this context, the menacing message to Desdemona is that there are those with the power and the skill to execute, violate, penetrate, dissect, and embalm the bodies of virtuous women, thus forever ensuring their preservation in a state of chastity. Moreover, the direct references to the corpse drug, "mummy"— replete with intimations of the dead female body as ingestible remedy—is inarguably threatening to Desdemona. This is reinforced by contemporary medical prescriptions for epilepsy that subscribe to understandings of the healing power of virginal blood and human hearts. As Schroder claims, "*Menstrual Blood* of Virgins Dryed, is good inwardly against . . . Epilepsie," and "*The Heart* dryed, and drunk, cures Epilepsie."[20] The danger that Desdemona will be transformed into mummy is reinforced for the audience when Othello vows that her bed "shall with lust's blood be spotted" (5.1.36). In this violent image of polluted bedding, the careful process of dyeing returns in a form of chaos—"spotting"—thus creating a clear connection between the female bodies of the blood-stained handkerchief and the imagined bloody defilement of Desdemona's body.[21]

The allusion to the eviscerated virgins' hearts that impregnate the handkerchief offers a sinister commentary on the troubling epistemology of female corporeality in which the play is heavily invested. The heart in particular, as Michael Neill points out, had at the time an important allegorical significance beyond its biological existence and was understood as the locus of impenetrable psychological truths concealed by physiognomical appearances.[22] For example, the hearts of drawn and quartered traitors were frequently displayed as a sign of their hidden treachery.[23] Part of Othello's frustration lies in the fact that, denied access to the imagined "villainous secrets" (4.2.22) of Desdemona's heart, he is forced to rely on external appearances and innuendo as proof of her sexual fidelity. Although Desdemona's "complexion," like a "young and rose-lipp'd cherubin" (4.2.62–63), offers external proof of her innocence, Othello is spurred on by Iago's

provocative warning that "her honour is an essence that's not seen" (4.1.16).[24] The epistemological dilemma faced by Othello in his ignorance of Desdemona's chastity is akin to the challenge that faced early modern anatomists in search of the unbroken hymen, raising the question: how would one know that the *fille vièrge* was truly virginal?[25] The answer, that there is no visible external proof, underpins the masculine paranoia apparent in the play and feeds the uncontrollable desire to command women's chastity at all costs. Thus, as the vivid emblems of women's elusive chastity, the mummified hearts gouged from the bodies of young virgins permeating the handkerchief serve as a timely reminder that the desperate search for proof of a woman's virtue lies a mere knife-cut away.

The sinister insinuations in the handkerchief story are not lost on Desdemona, and it is ironic that Othello's "travailous history" (1.3.140) has the power to both nurture and to wound. Here, language too takes on a medical function similar to the pharmakon as both poison and/or remedy. As Judith Butler writes, "If language can sustain the body, it can also threaten its existence."[26] Desdemona has already, "with greedy ear" (1.3.150), absorbed the "wonderous pitiful" (1.3.162) tale of "the cannibals that each other eat" (1.3.144). Then, revealing her discomfort with certain aspects of Othello's story, part of her confused but fascinated reaction was to wish "she had not heard it" (1.3.163). She has a similar reaction, although much more determinedly denunciatory, in her shocked response to the handkerchief story: "Then would to God that I had never seen't!" (3.4.79), thus revealing how clearly she *does* see the handkerchief as sinisterly symbolic of her sexual chastity and the danger to herself if it is lost. But to see is also to recognize and, in the charged atmosphere of cannibalistic metaphors in the play, the story of cannibals comes dangerously close to home for Desdemona as she comprehends the full significance and threat of the handkerchief.

As we have seen, in early modern European corpse pharmacology, the human body—transformed and mediated through a whole host of practices—was swallowed, ingested, and digested in the quest for the healing benefits of its balsamic essence. In attempts to bring relief to the sick, physicians drew extensively on a primarily Paracelsian pharmacological arsenal of corpse drugs. Although we have every reason to doubt Iago's integrity, he diagnoses Othello's two collapses as "epilepsy" (4.1.50). Othello's symptoms certainly match with early modern descriptions of epilepsy, or the "falling sickness," which was frequently treated with corpse therapeutics: human blood, mummy, and cranium.[27] Drinking hot blood was commonly prescribed as a

treatment for epilepsy, although, as Schroder makes clear, a possible side effect was the risk of inducing an epileptic seizure: "*Blood* drunk hot, cures the Epilepsie [. . .] (drink fresh or in powder). [. . .] Be wary of drinking of blood, for it makes them tremble that take it, and sometimes brings Epilepsies."[28] Significantly, when we witness Othello's first epileptic seizure, his cry, "O blood, blood, blood!" (3.3.454), is a desperate demand, not only for revenge, but also for the curative power of blood, the most salvific of all bodily elixirs.

The pharmacological significance of the handkerchief and its relationship to epilepsy becomes particularly telling in this context and functions at different levels. Not only is the handkerchief saturated with the corpse drugs used for epilepsy, but also—insofar as it was sewn in a "prophetic fury" (3.4.74) by an ancient sibyl—epilepsy is implicated in the handkerchief's production and purpose. In 1602, the physician Jean Taxil refers to the phenomenon of "possessed" epileptics who "in the *fury* of their affliction . . . were seized by epileptic convulsions" (emphasis added). Taxil gives as his examples "the Sibyls who were convulsed, fell down, frothed and were tormented when possessed by the devil."[29] In general, a strong connection between epilepsy and Arabic prophets is made in medieval writings; indeed, Neoplatonic authors such as Ficino describe many instances of the curious connection between epilepsy and those possessing prophetic powers.[30] We sense that Othello's father, described as unpredictable in his relationship with Othello's mother and in need of "subdu[ing]," was also an epileptic (3.4.61–65), and that the "Egyptian charmer" knew this when she gave the handkerchief to Othello's mother (3.4.58–59).[31]

Entangled in the fury and prophetic power of epilepsy, and in the medical treatment of the disease, the handkerchief is a potent emblem of Othello's illness. When Othello complains of "a pain upon my forehead" (3.3.288), Desdemona instinctively offers to "bind it hard" (3.3.290) with the handkerchief before she is even aware of its portentousness.[32] Stained by the blood of virgins, the handkerchief suggests the "blood-soaked plasters" of the early modern pharmacological reserve, and Desdemona's proposed treatment of Othello is consistent with van Helmont's prescription that "some external Medicines bound about the head, do preserve from an Epileptical fall and fit."[33] Othello's words, "Your napkin is too little" (3.3.291), which both reject any form of recuperation by or for Desdemona and trivialize the healing power of the handkerchief, create a prophetic moment in the play.[34] Helplessly enmeshed in Iago's scheme, Othello foresees his own chronic condition as fatal and beyond healing. The Greek

physician Aretaeus offers a similar understanding of the persistent nature of epilepsy: "If the mischief lurk there until it strike root, it will not yield either to the physician or the changes of age, so as to take its departure, but lives with the patient until death."[35] The healing potential of the handkerchief, with its complex conflation of powers, comes too late for the mischief that lurks in Othello. The handkerchief is dropped, and its ensuing exchanges and manipulations enable the successful culmination of Iago's portentous design.

The already complex relationship between the handkerchief and Desdemona's bed linen becomes even more metonymically significant with her insistence that in the event of her death she be shrouded in her wedding sheets.[36] Her instructions to Emilia, "Lay on my bed my wedding sheets" (4.2.107) and "If I do die before thee, prithee shroud me / In one of these same sheets" (4.3.22–23), set the stage for her "mummification" and reveal Desdemona's own sibylline powers as she understands Othello's sinister plan for her.[37] Her directive, that she be bound in her bed linen, uncannily connotes the ritual wrapping of the corpse in linen of Egyptian funeral rites while registering starkly against Othello's refusal to be bandaged by the Egyptian handkerchief. Here, the arrangement to shroud her body brings Desdemona dangerously close to the mummified female corpses of the handkerchief. As the above epigraph from Read tells us, the wealthy Egyptian corpse was preserved in aromatic spices possessing intrinsic balsamic virtues, then bound in linen shrouds soaked in the same fragrant fluid. Desdemona's directive represents the final stage of a preservation process that reflects a desire for permanence and renewal: to arrest the corruptibility of the flesh. Since Othello believes in Desdemona's physical corruption—that she is "a whore" (5.2.132)—his decision "not [to] shed her blood / Nor scar that whiter skin of hers than snow / And smooth as monumental alabaster" (5.2.3–5), suggests the Egyptian practice of arresting physical corruption.[38] In this moment, Othello envisions Desdemona embalmed and memorialized in a state of purity, petrified and made incorruptible in death. I agree with Neill's argument that this image represents Othello's fear of what he might find if he makes an incision upon "Desdemona's immaculate body";[39] however, Othello's epistemological purpose here is overwhelmed by his obsessive need to secure, and thus control, Desdemona's body in a permanent state of unmarred chastity, like the "chaste stars" (5.2.2) audience of his soliloquy.

While questions have been raised regarding whether or not their marriage is consummated, this has little relevance for Othello's

understanding of Desdemona's "virginity" as a fixed bodily state, conditional on her sexually chaste behavior.[40] As Loughlin points out,

> [A]lthough English Renaissance culture is wholly involved in constructing the virginal body as transitional, as naturally and physiologically intended for marriage, the anatomical search for the hymen also seeks to create a fixed and absolute body that can be defined as virginal in and of itself.[41]

Othello's need to contain Desdemona in a "virginal" state becomes crucial not only to his own well-being but also, in an act of universalization, to the well-being of "more men," in other words, all men in danger of "betray[al]" (5.2.6) by women. Hence, Othello is trapped in a dangerous masculine pathology within which the *fille vièrge* is imagined as salvific, and Desdemona will be sacrificed in order to, in the words of Georges Bataille, "save the rest from a mortal danger of contagion."[42]

In his disturbed, necrophilic reverie over the sleeping Desdemona, Othello envisions her as contagion's antithesis: a fragrant, embalmed, virginal corpse replete with salvific essences. At some level Othello seems to acknowledge and seek the intrinsic "virtue" and "goodness" of Desdemona that Iago describes and callously exploits (2.3.356). Here, he resembles an apothecary morbidly seeking to grasp and preserve the quintessence of a "virginal" female body. In this vision, Desdemona's body will not "rot and perish" (4.1.178) as it does in Othello's earlier revenge vision, but rather yield a profound drug: "O balmy breath" (5.2.16).[43] With his mouth on hers, he inhales, tastes, and ingests the therapeutic properties of her body to ease his poisoned mind.[44] In this figuration, Desdemona is the olfactory drug described by Theodor de Mayerne as "The Balsom for the Nostrils."[45] Thus, if we tease out the pharmacological significance of the term *balmy*, there are several interpretative possibilities. Desdemona's body is fragrant, but with the connotation of "balm" it is also a powerful medicament with the potential to heal, soothe, and calm. And, according to the sixteenth-century Italian theologian Tommaso Campanella, pungent aromas comfort troubled spirits and are effective in combating illness caused by poisoning.[46] In these terms, Desdemona offers the perfect olfactory relief for the debilitating repercussions of Iago's poisoning of Othello. Furthermore, following the Oxford English Dictionary definition of *balm* as a "fragrant and medicinal exudation from certain trees" and an "aromatic preparation for embalming,"[47]

balm is clearly connected to the "Arabian trees" whose "medicinal gum" (5.2.348–49) Othello's tears resemble. Thus, Othello is inextricably linked to the medical preparation and preservation of corpses. The disquieting irony of this scene, with its devastating implications, registers Brabantio's initial uneasiness when he associated Othello with the fraudulent practices of perfidious apothecaries who misuse "drugs or minerals" (1.2.74) and "medicines bought of mountebanks" (1.3.62). Then, Brabantio feared that Othello had drugged Desdemona. Now, outstripping Brabantio's worst fears, Othello constructs Desdemona herself as a drug.

In this crucial moment, Othello represents the treacherous apothecary who not only mines but also samples the pharmacological possibilities of the human corpse. Fully savoring and assimilating the pure distillations of Desdemona's body, he consumes her life into himself. Like the elusive essence of a corpse captured in that brief moment before the onset of decay, Othello figures her as a rose he inhales "on the tree" (5.2.15) whose perfection is contained in this living moment because, once plucked, he "cannot give it vital growth again" (5.2.14).[48] This is how Othello envisions Desdemona preserved in death and his words, "Be thus when thou art dead and I will kill thee / And love thee after" (5.2.18–19), are an attempt to capture her forever in a quintessential state of virginity. Ironically, this coda is an alarming manifestation of Othello's earlier yearning to preserve the perfection of their reunion in Cyprus: "If it were now to die / 'Twere now to be most happy" (2.1.187–188), when he acknowledges (also with a kiss) the therapeutic benefits—the "content so absolute" (2.1.181)—that he derives from the "sweet powers" (2.1.193) of Desdemona's physical presence.[49] Suspended in the pristine moment of death, Desdemona's body becomes the true pharmaceutical mumia of the Paracelsian arsenal: a healthy body that suffered an unnatural death, with power to heal epilepsy. In this instant of arrested corporeal purity, she too resembles the youthful, unmarked corpse required for medicinal preservation and preparation such as Croll's recipe describes: "whole (not maimed) clear without blemishes."[50] Desdemona's corpse, figured as remedy, carries the terrible salvific burden of Othello's pathological paranoia. Yet any masculine healing in *Othello* is impossible because the superior curative power of the virginal female corpse is a medical and cultural fiction that reiterates the powerful regulatory myth of female chastity.

In a sense, the play becomes the handkerchief, tightly woven with the disease of masculine epistemological anxiety—manifested as epilepsy—and soaked with the blood of good women. Like the

medically processed female bodies that saturate the handkerchief, women are violated and destroyed within the "highly charged and hysterically invested" masculine culture of the play.[51] The handkerchief, the salvific value of which is compromised (like Desdemona's corpse) by the sinister masculine agenda of policing women's bodies through an obsessive process of mythologizing and violating, can thus have no real therapeutic power. In the end, this is the message of the play. While the play explores the sick appetites of masculine jealousy, an important feature of the play is its foregrounding of the strength of Desdemona and Emilia, who ultimately resist this construction. Thus, Desdemona's famous refusal of Othello's agency as the murderous consumer of her body, "Nobody. I myself" (5.2.122), can also be understood as a denial of a corpse economy in which women's bodies were constructed, as either food or remedy for men, as well as an attempt to redefine the powerful significance of her own body.

Yet there is another way to think about Desdemona's identification of "Nobody" as the culprit here. In early modern culture, "Nobody" was a mischievous folk spirit understood as a nonexistent person who was blamed for mishaps and minor misdemeanors. In the 1592 play, *Nobody and Somebody,* the prologue sets out the concept of Nobody in the age:

> A subject, of no subject, we present,
> For No-body, is Nothing:
> Who of nothing can something make?
> It is a worke beyond the power of wit,
> And yet invention is ripe:
> A morrall meaning you must then expect,
> Grounded on lesser then a shadowes shadow:
> Promising nothing wher there wants a toong;
> And deeds as few, be done by No-bodie:
> Yet something, out of nothing, we will shew,
> To gaine your loves, to whome our selves we owe.[52]

These words give some insight into Desdemona's meaning and, oddly enough, also show that her deployment of the term *nobody* introduces a dark note of ironic humour to the scene. By having Desdemona evoke this naughty spirit, Shakespeare plays to the audience's popular understanding of Nobody, and thus to the impossibility of finding a moral resting place amongst the complex layers of misunderstandings and hidden intentions in the play. The ambiguity of "Nobody" creates a space for Desdemona to occupy with her clearly stated claim to her

own corporeality and identity: "I myself." Further, the notion that nobody is nothing, no substance, and cannot be turned into something else—"Who of nothing can something make?"—challenges the belief in transubstantiation and registers the Protestant disembodiment of the Eucharist sacrament to a state of "no body." As I show in the next section, the denial of corporeality in the Catholic ritual produces the paradox in Donne's *Anniversaries*, in which homage is paid to the dead young woman, Elizabeth Drury, but her body is absent, reduced in fact to its vital healing essence. Instead, with no physical body for him to grasp onto, the quintessence of Elizabeth Drury is absorbed into the pages of Donne's work to provide, like a Eucharistic wafer, medicine for the body and the soul of a sick masculine world.

VITAL ESSENCES AND DISTILLING IDENTITY

> *The inside of the body is the temple, the place where the awesome powers reside; internal body states are imagined in intense detail.... Any body is awesome, but the female body, possessor of the mystery of fertility and nurture, is the most awesome.*
>
> Anna S. Meigs, *Food, Sex, and Pollution*[53]

> *Distance—woman—averts truth—the philosopher. She bestows the idea. And the idea withdraws, becomes transcendent, inaccessible, seductive. It beckons from afar (*in die Ferne*). Its veils flout in the distance. The dream of death begins. It is woman.*
>
> Jacques Derrida, *Spurs: Nietzsche's Styles*[54]

> *Mortuary cannibalism...passes on the vital essence of the newly dead so that it will not be lost from the general pool available to society.*
>
> Peggy Reeves Sanday, *Divine Hunger*[55]

It is curious that in a poetic enterprise such as John Donne's *Anniversary* poems, which attempts to keep the mind's eye fixed firmly on the human body, there is no body. Elizabeth Drury, the subject of the poems, repeatedly dissolves into the larger personal spiritual purpose of Donne's poetic corpus. Unlike Desdemona, whose final words, "Nobody. I myself," reject masculine claims on and constructions of her body, the young woman of Donne's *Anniversaries* "expir'd" (*FE*, 74) before she had the opportunity to define her own corporeal integrity in language.[56] Because she died before she became an object of masculine exchange in marriage, while "the world studied

whose this peece should be," in death, "... she can be no bodies else, nor shee" (*FA*, 71–72): neither wife, nor woman; she is denied both voice and agency.[57] And, with the subtle play on "nobody" and "no body" in the expression "no bodies," not only is she stripped of her identity as a woman, but also in death her body is drained of its corporeality. While Othello ultimately perceives Desdemona's corpse as the embodiment of preserved pharmacological virtue, Elizabeth Drury's body is missing from the start, and she is conceived instead as a vital essence to be administered as an antidote for the deep spiritual disillusionment of masculinity that underpins Donne's poems. Turning loss into gain—the benefits of Elizabeth Drury's virginal death to the masculine world are clear—the discourse of medicine in the *Anniversaries* is deployed simultaneously with the discourse of sustenance for the soul; what the poems persistently prescribe as a remedy for the world's spiritual affliction is the virginal quintessence of the "shee" of the poems. In this form, the pharmacological power of the *fille vièrge* mummy of the early modern medical imagination is poetically deployed as a universal curative for the ailing masculine soul; thus, as an object of spiritual exchange, "shee" becomes "everyman's."[58]

It is reported that an exchange occurred between Ben Jonson and Donne in 1619 in which Jonson told Donne that if *The First Anniversary* "had been written of ye Virgin Marie it had been something," and Donne replied "that he described the Idea of a Woman, not as she was."[59] These words, which have shadowed interpretations of the poems ever since, offer a clue to what is so frustrating about the poems: their repeated elision of the female body. In the *Anniversaries*, Donne seizes the occasion of the anniversary of Elizabeth Drury's death and the idea of her virginity—in death she is completely at his creative disposal—to explore the state of the human soul. This intense probing of the human condition, figured in the poems through the image of a spiritually decayed world, is somatic: symbolically and ritually mediated, not through Elizabeth Drury's body, but through a repeated denial of her body.

And yet, at one level, the search for spiritual aid is carried out through a fantasy of sexual intercourse that has a remedial function; thus gratification of the body serves to alleviate the troubled masculine soul.[60] This eroticization of the path to spiritual well-being appears in the speaker's fantasy of having discovered and penetrated the treasures of Elizabeth Drury's virginal female body *before* her death, bringing a tinge of sexual bizarreness to the poems. Consequently, while the *Anniversaries* are generally considered to be epideictic works, the

praise of the dead is also deftly deployed to erotic ends. Unlike the fraught gender politics of *Othello*, in which the only solution to men's obsessive jealousy of women is their death—as a corpse, Desdemona is forever preserved *for* Othello and *from* other men—the *Anniversaries* present spiritual crisis and healing as a sharing: the exquisite (i.e., virginal and virtuous) essence of Elizabeth Drury is generously passed around, metaphorically and textually, for the health, pleasure, and gratification of Donne's masculine readership.

The Eucharistic implications of Elizabeth Drury as a salvific offering for the sick soul of the world—bringing to mind the viaticum administered to the sick and dying as food for life's last journey—are unavoidable, especially in light of the six opening lines of *The First Anniversary*:

> When that rich soule which to her Heaven is gone,
> Whom all they celebrate, who know they have one,
> (For who is sure he hath a soule, unlesse
> It see, and Judge, and follow worthinesse,
> And by Deedes praise it? He who doth not this,
> May lodge an In-mate soule, but this not his.) [1–6]

The key lies in the word *celebrate*, the meaning of which goes beyond "commemorate" to embrace also the ritual process of spatial and temporal reenactment of the Catholic Mass.[61] However, Elizabeth Drury is not the corporeal matter for which the *Devotions* hunger; rather, in her representation as distilled essence, physical access to her is denied and she is symbolically offered as communal medicine for the ailing souls of Donne's male celebrants—an exclusive group restricted to those faithful who recognize that they have a soul. Here Donne's theology seems particularly Protestant in its flavor, and the profound alimentary longing for the body of Christ that overwhelms the *Devotions* is not immediately recognizable in the *Anniversaries*, which repeatedly elides the possibility of Elizabeth Drury as an ingestible body, either medicinal or Eucharistic.[62] And yet the persistence of this elision raises the logical possibility, not that a residual Protestant hunger for Christ's body is absent from the poems, but that a virginal female body is simply the *wrong* body to satisfy such an appetite—constituting forbidden manna in a sense. In the *Anniversaries*, the possibility of Elizabeth Drury as food for the suffering masculine soul is consistently thwarted by the troubling fact of her gender; thus she hovers, in life and in death, as a

disembodied healing trace that beckons seductively from the pages of Donne's poems.

Elizabeth Drury, a specimen ripe for preservation and purification, is embalmed and distilled in the *Anniversaries* in the virginal moment of her death. While other corruptible human bodies "will not last out" a lengthy anatomy (*FA*, 436), her virtuous quintessence is contained within the restorative space of the poems, sealed off from the putrefaction of life and death. In *The First Anniversary*, she is preserved and memorialized forever when Donne, playing the divine undertaker, takes on this "great Office" of "trying to emprison her" (*FA,* 470) in "song" (*FA,* 444):

> Which when I saw that a strict grave could do,
> I saw not why verse might not doe so too.
> Verse hath a middle nature: heaven keepes soules,
> The grave keeps bodies, verse the fame enroules. (*FA,* 471–474)[63]

Here Donne's verse, with its immortalizing power, is a textual crypt, clearly superior to any physical tomb. This logic of the grave continues in *A Funerall Elegie* in which "…to trust a Tombe with such a ghest, / Or to confine her in a Marble chest" (*FE,* 1–2)—and thus to inevitable physical decay—represents a loss to the world that is avoidable if the corpse is disinterred from its earthly tomb and reinterred in verse.

A Funerall Elegie begins by questioning the enduring power of verse to shroud and preserve so precious an object:

> And can shee, who no longer would be shee,
> Being such a Tabernacle, stoope to bee
> In paper wrap't; Or, when she would not lie
> In such a house, dwell in an Elegie? (*FE,* 15–18)

Although here the doubt is half-hearted and easily shrugged off with the words: "But 'tis no matter; we may well allow / Verse to live so long as the world will now" (*FE,* 19–20). As Elisabeth Bronfen argues, preserving the female body in representation "circumvents a dissolution and corruption of the body" and places her into "the 'masculine' symbolic realm of eternal unchanged forms."[64] Hence, for the duration of the world of the *Anniversaries*, the trace of the virginal corpse will be preserved, shrouded, and refined in the vellum pages of Donne's incorruptible verse. Furthermore, in a plug

for the regenerative potential of his own creative powers, Donne's poetic "grave shall restore / Her, greater, purer, firmer, then before" (*FE,* 45–46); thus, Elizabeth Drury will exceed the natural virtue she exhibited in life.[65]

Donne's personal spirituality depended on a balance between the spiritual and the sensual: "God hath made us of both" body and soul, he argues, "We understand all things . . . by benefit of the senses."[66] In other words, external bodily experiences and sensations are essential to inward spirituality. The *Anniversaries* negotiate the tension between the importance of the masculine bodily experience, including sexual experience, to spiritual wholeness and the belief in women's bodies as impure. In Donne, this tension is played out as an ideal masculine spiritual state that depends on experiencing the ideal feminine physical state, conceived in the poems as virginal—a socially and culturally determined ideal that goes hand in hand with the notion of virginal spirituality. The seductive idea of perfect womanhood (physically and spiritually unblemished) whose vital essence, as I will show, has the power to heal and regenerate the world, confronts accepted understandings of the destructive, emasculating potential of the female body that, in *The First Anniversary*, is "sent for mans reliefe and [is] cause of his languishment" (*FA,* 102), because

> that first mariage was our funerall:
> One woman at one blow, then kill'd us all,
> And singly, one by one, they kill us now.
> We doe delightfully our selves allow
> To that consumption; and profusely blinde,
> We kill our selves, to propogate our kinde.
> And yet we doe not that; we are not men. (105–111)

Women are "principall[s] in ill" (104) and their legacy from Eve, a power over life and death dangerously coupled with a propensity for evil, represents a fatal end for biologically determined masculinity that is by its very nature—and the absurdity is not lost here—suicidal.[67] The misogynistic derision of this passage, an example of what Barbara Lewalski describes as the "satiric element" in *The First Anniversary*, "produced by a highly sophisticated complex of tones and devices,"[68] draws on commonplace sexual humor. The repetition of "kill" is a seventeenth-century pun on "die," signifying male orgasm. The linking of harm to men with female sexual excess, and the wasting of masculine life to orgasm, belong in a culturally familiar discourse that derogates women.[69] In general, sex with women is a risky business for men, a point Donne makes in *Paradox 6*: "For I have seldome

seene one which consumes his *substance* and *body* upon them, escape *diseases*, or *beggery*."[70]

The desire to establish a model of virtuous—and therefore safe—femininity, absolute and immutable in its sexual and spiritual integrity, is played out as an investigation of Elizabeth Drury's state of mind and her choices, not only those available to her as a woman but also her decision to *be* a woman, which verify her purity:

> She, of whom th'Auncients seem'd to prophesie,
> When they call'd virtues by the name of she,
> She in whom vertue was so much refin'd,
> That for Allay vnto so pure a minde
> Shee tooke the weaker Sex, she that could driue
> The poysonous tincture, and the stayne of *Eue*,
> Out of her thoughts, and deeds; and purifie
> All, by a true religious Alchimy. (*FA*, 177–182)

Here, any possibility of Elizabeth Drury's sexualized body or, indeed, sexual agency is elided by the notion of psychological integrity. Within this paradigm, her gender, her body, and her sexual history, defined as virginal and thus without the stain of "fallen" womanhood, are coded as a freely chosen purity of mind; in other words, she chooses to deny her own corporeality. Donne capitalizes on the cultural obsession with female chastity in his construction of women's propensity to sin as an autonomous decision. Thus Elizabeth Drury becomes a model of female virtue because both her physical and spiritual virginal state represent a deliberate choice that positions her as impervious to the weaknesses and temptations of her sex. Furthermore, this ironic empowerment of Elizabeth Drury has far-reaching implications because, in the process of distillation of her body throughout the poems, her virtue is potentially a universal spiritual purgative for all. In other words, to preserve one's virginity in death has positive benefits for the world of men.[71]

In a period of Protestant commitment to marriage as the natural state for—and chaste purpose of—women, Donne paradoxically represents marriage as an infirmity for women, instead idealizing female virginity.[72] Not only does Elizabeth Drury deliberately avoid her destiny of flawed female sexuality and the contamination of Eve, but she also escapes the debilitating yoke of marriage, with its dangerous sexual demands. In *A Funerall Elegie*, the speaker explains the dilemma of marriage, which mars—but does not contaminate—virginal purity: "For mariage, though it doe not staine, doth dye. / To scape

th'infirmities which waite upone / Woman, shee went away, before sh'was one" (*FE,* 76–78). Again there is the sexual pun on "dye" and significantly, echoing the multivalences of "dyed" in *Othello*, the connotations of the loss of virginity, death, blood, and orgasm.[73] Thus the rupture of the hymen in marriage unleashes a dangerous chain of events that are beyond a woman's control.

However, while the perils of marriage to women are manifold, choosing to preserve virginity is equally fraught. In one of the several curious suicidal moments in the poems, Elizabeth Drury is represented as the author of her own death: she chose death over loss of virginity and the intolerable burdens of womanhood. Hence, her voice is not raised with those "poore mothers" who lament, "We are borne ruinous . . . / That children come not right, nor orderly, / Except they headlong come, and fall upon / An ominous precipitation" (*FA,* 95–98). Rather, in death, she is imprisoned in purity, safe from the gross distortions and physical risks that beset the female body in marriage and preserved instead as the representation of ideal womanhood. That Elizabeth Drury's death constitutes an act of self-sacrifice in the name of physical and spiritual purity is crucial to Donne's poetic project. The idea of her body, selflessly stripped of its corporeality and thus of its feminine weaknesses—neither corrupt, nor corruptible, nor corrupting—is seductively attractive as an ideal of womanhood and a universal panacea.[74]

Curiously, while the *Anniversaries* attest to Donne's fascination with medicine and the human body, it is not to Elizabeth Drury's body that Donne turns in search of an answer to spiritual disillusionment. It is ironic that, in poems saturated with medical metaphors (both pharmacological and anatomical) that insist on the corporeal, Elizabeth Drury's corporeality, and thus her potential to do harm and be harmed, is suppressed by the construction of her death as a personal vote for virginity. Instead, Donne's spiritual investigations are mapped on an anatomy of the world—conceived of as an ailing body in the throes of death—and pursued through meditations on the body in its various stages of illness.[75]

Most commentators on Donne's medical knowledge agree with Don Allen's observation, "We could establish a dictionary of medical terms based on Donne's writings."[76] This is particularly pertinent to the *Anniversaries*, which richly attest to Donne's familiarity with, and frequent skepticism toward, not only contemporary medical doctrines but also anatomical dissections. Allen remarks that in many of his writings Donne's ideas draw on the medical authority of Paracelsus;[77]certainly, the figurative language

of medicine Donne employs in his anatomy of the afflictions of his world is particularly Paracelsian in its flavor, despite his barb at the "new phisicke" (*FA*, 160) and though his dissection poetics remain wholly Vesalian.[78]

What makes the *Anniversaries* so fascinating is the fact that Donne brings his knowledge of contemporary medicine and anatomical practices together with accepted beliefs in the pharmacological power of the human corpse, particularly the female virginal corpse, in an attempt to treat the spiritually empty world he lived in with the elusive spirit of one young woman. As the healing quintessence for the sick world, Elizabeth Drury resembles Donne's understanding of mummy as a drug to be ingested when "our natural inborn preservative is corrupted or wasted."[79] The way to heal or regenerate humanity is to grasp and absorb the latent "vertue," or life-giving principle, of her body; in this form, Elizabeth Drury is true Paracelsian mummy. It is through her essence that Donne attempts to purge the diseased core of human nature, and the dangerous frailty of the human condition.

Through an anatomical exploration of the ailing world, the *Anniversaries* seek to fathom the mysteries of human existence—what Sherwood identifies as physical creation and the soul itself.[80] In the poems, the speaker tells the world that in order to analyze, learn from, and heal its disease, it is necessary to perform a dissection: "to gaine by thy Anatomy" (*FA,* 60) in order "to succour thee" (*FA,* 55).[81] Like early modern anatomies, the *Anniversaries* are fueled by the astonishing and persistent belief in some kind of energy that remains after death. After Elizabeth Drury's death, the "force" (*SA*, 8) that struggles to survive within the dying world is graphically illustrated in the sustained simile of the final contortions of a decapitated man:

> [A]s sometimes in a beheaded man,
> Though at those two Red seas, which freely ran,
> One from the Trunke, another from the Head,
> His eies will twinckle, and his tongue will roll,
> As though he beckned, and cal'd backe his Soul,
> He graspes his hands, and he puls up his feet,
> And seems to reach, and to step forth to meet
> His soul. (*SA*, 9–17)

This image describes in vivid detail the human body as it struggles in the transitional moment between life and death, a resistance that medical practitioners attempt to understand and capture.[82] Furthermore, in this physiological reminder of the mysterious energies that drive the

body, we cannot fail to notice the crucial elements of the Paracelsian pharmacological model: the violent death, the sanguine fluid, and the "Balsamick spiritual substance" of life captured in the corpse drug.[83]

This graphically physical analogy of how the world "strugles . . . now shee is gone" (*SA*, 21) offers a stark contrast to Donne's attempts to describe Elizabeth Drury as anything but corporeal. In the constant rhetorical moves that successfully elude attempts to nail down her physical existence, Elizabeth Drury's body dissolves into Donne's poetic corpus, leaving us with the sense that even before her death she had no life, no identity, no body. The use of shifting time and space in the *Anniversaries*, which keeps the ostensible subject of the poems in a state of infinite suspension—to be co-opted at appropriate moments—functions to evade the issue of Elizabeth Drury's corporeality. In a pattern that uncannily suggests the spatial and temporal symbolism of the Eucharistic sacrament that I discuss in the previous chapter, the *Anniversaries* hover between the past (before Elizabeth Drury's death) and the present (the anniversary of her death), but they also look to the future, with their vision of a spiritually renewed world. Within these spatial and temporal frames for which death is the defining moment, the poems imagine the world as sustained by Elizabeth Drury's life, debilitated by her death, and in need of her as a regenerating source. Thus, like the other corpses that haunt this book, Elizabeth Drury is a trace that is both in and out of time. In the *First Anniversary*, Donne constructs an extraordinary memory of Elizabeth Drury as the vital essence intrinsic to the world's existence, an image underpinned by the Paracelsian belief in the human body as the source of precious drugs for curing the bodies of others. The speaker tells the world that during her life, Elizabeth Drury's "name defin'd thee, gave thee forme and frame" (37), and that she was "Thy'ntrinsique Balme, and thy preservative" (57). But now, with her death, "thou has lost thy sense and memory" (28). Here, in the fraught masculine culture of the poems, Elizabeth Drury, denied corporeality even in life, appears as the virginal quintessence—metonymically suggesting medical representations of the *fille vièrge* mummy—here essential to the well-being of the world.

Eloquently shadowing the construction of Elizabeth Drury as the virtuous essence of corpse pharmacology is the Eucharistic construction of Christ whose body could miraculously nourish and remedy all spiritual and physical ills, as a supernatural *pharmakon*. Thus, suggesting both medicine and Eucharist Elizabeth Drury also has as alimentary significance. In life, she was already the *elixir vitae* that nourished the world, and the spiritual wasting created by her death is

embodied as a form of physical deprivation and starvation. Without her, the world is overcome by a "great consumption"; weakened by the "wound" of her loss; and in a state of "fever," suffering "fits" and the loss of identity (*FA*, 19–28). Until her death, Elizabeth Drury sustained this world, which was—in the speaker's reminder—"nothing but she and her thou hast o'repast" (*FA*, 32). There is obviously a sense in the term *o'repast* of the world having passed over, outlived, or forgotten Elizabeth Drury. Or, as Frank Manley argues, since she was the world's identity, the world has outlived its own death.[84] But the cannibalistic appetite of the world for Elizabeth Drury is revealed in the punning possibilities of "over-repast," especially in light of the previous "consumption."[85] If the world has sustained itself on her life, then her death represents an over-consumption on her body; now, deprived of its regular sustenance, the world self-consumes. This image of Elizabeth Drury as consumable is powerfully reinforced in *The Second Anniversary* in which she offers herself as food: "Shee, shee embrac'd a sickness, gave it meat, / The purest Blood, and Breath, that ere it eat" (147–48). "Sickness" here is ambiguous, connoting both the illness that killed her and the world's state. The autophagy of the world is clearly connected in the poem to the state of spiritual starvation described in the proviso that "except thou feed (not banquet) on / The supernaturall food, Religion, / Thy better Grouth growes withered, and scant" (187–189),[86] bringing the poem intriguingly close to describing Elizabeth Drury as Eucharistic matter.

Yet ultimately, *The First Anniversary* rapidly retreats from any interpretation of Elizabeth Drury as ingestible matter, either natural or supernatural, by banishing her to the margins of memory. If, during her lifetime, Elizabeth Drury was already distilled as quintessence to be consumed by a greedy world, what does she become in death? The problematic linguistic process of defining Elizabeth Drury, while at the same time denying her any corporeality, is further strained in the attempt to express what is almost inexpressible: something that is less than quintessential. This is what Sawday is getting at when he identifies the ambiguity of "She" as the source of the "poems' obstinate refusal to allow themselves to be subjected to the forms of investigation which they themselves seem so eloquently to enunciate."[87] In the challenge of describing Elizabeth Drury without really describing her, she becomes a trace from which the ailing world draws its remaining vitality, "a glimmering light" that reflects "on them which understood / Her worth . . . A faint weake love of vertue and of good" (*FA*, 70–72). Now in death, released from "the carcasse of the old world," she is "The twi-light of her memory" (*FA*, 74–75) and her

lingering "vertue" ("the matter and the stuff") will mingle with "our practice" ("the forme") to create a "new world" (*FA*, 76–78). Yet still, even in this uncanny form, neither body nor quintessence but quintessence's elusive memory, whose personal history is consigned to the twilight zone, Elizabeth Drury is prescribed as *the* remedy: the "last, and best concoction" for this world (*FA*, 456). It is ironic, then, that she carries the enormous burden of healing and regenerating Donne's readers: "you her creatures, whom she workes upon (*FA*, 455).

The full pharmacological power of this virginal curative is compromised, however, by the spiritual corruption of a world that jeopardizes its soul's communication with heaven. In an ideal, spiritually whole world—"If this commerce twixt heaven and earth were not / Embarr'd" (*FA*, 399–400)—the residual efficacy of Elizabeth Drury would be maximized, and "Shee"

> Would worke more fully'and pow'rfully on us.
> Since herbes, and roots by dying, lose not all,
> But they, yea Ashes too, are medicinall
> Death could not quench her vertue so, but that
> It would be (if not follow'd) wondred at. (*FA*, 401–406)

Like the medicinal plants of the pharmacological arsenal, whose healing essences linger in their dried and powdered form, Elizabeth Drury is a medical drug of virtuous sexual and spiritual potency, whose salvific essence endures beyond death to be deployed, when the moment is right, as a curative for the world. However, while the ideal conditions for full spiritual renewal are absent from this world in its present state of alienation from heaven, Elizabeth Drury's pharmacological potency cannot be "fully" utilized. In addition, the idea of Elizabeth Drury as a distilled corpse drug, consistent with the *fille vièrge* mummy motif, also draws on early modern medical prescriptions that advocate excretions from the virginal female body, such as the ingestion and external application of dried menstrual blood from virgins, for a whole slew of ailments.[88] But, such prescriptions themselves are symptomatic of and heavily invested in cultural attempts to assert female virginity as fixed and therefore knowable—a model of femininity in which the *Anniversaries*, with their immortalizing representation of the essence of Elizabeth Drury's body as virginal, are also deeply implicated.

Unlike the opaque linens that will hide Desdemona's body in mummification, the paper shroud of Donne's poems is transparent,

and Elizabeth Drury's virginal quintessence lies invitingly open to the fascinated gaze of the masculine reader, vulnerable to repeated penetrations and violations. There is an obvious resemblance between Othello, who hovers like an anatomist over Desdemona's body desperately seeking signs of her purity, and the speaker of the *Anniversaries*, who, having adopted the role of anatomist, investigates the elusive trace of Elizabeth Drury anxious to locate and identify the cultural marker of her sexual innocence: the unbroken hymen on which *any* representation of her virtuousness must depend. As an emblem of virtue, the intact hymen is evidence of the young woman's purity. As a model of virtue, the virginal body, as Loughlin argues, "bears the unequivocal sign of its sexual inexperience and . . . [its] spiritual/moral integrity in the unbroken hymen."[89] In *A Funerall Elegie*, the "cleare body" (59) of Elizabeth Drury, "Cloath'd in her Virgin white integrity" (*FE,* 75), is eminently knowable, "so pure, and thin" that she is guilelessly transparent to any kind of reading, "Because it neede disguise no thought within" (*FE,* 59–60).[90] Here, corporeality—the body's density and secrets—is stripped away in a poetics of epistemological certainty, in which knowing the mind's purity is directly linked to physical translucence, and thus provides ready access to the proof of virginity. This construction of the internal Elizabeth Drury as eminently knowable offers a stark contrast to the impenetrable mystery of Desdemona's body that thwarted Othello's epistemological quest for proof of her chastity. Neill, in his discussion of Renaissance stage anatomies, describes this as "the maddening opacity of human flesh."[91] Furthermore, in the description of Elizabeth Drury as a "cleare body . . . so pure, and thin," evoking as it does the unleavened consecrated wafer of the Eucharist, which is also "without a blemish . . . clean, wheaten, thin,"[92] we catch another glimpse of the Eucharistic longing that haunts the poems.

But, in the masculine sexual economy of the poems, virginal translucence and potency beckons seductively—the sexual implications of "best concoction" cannot be ignored—offering an irresistible challenge to Donne. He slips into the past before her death to penetrate and discover all the virginal pharmacological joys Elizabeth Drury had to offer, thus becoming the explorer, as well as the metaphorical lover, who ventures where no other man has been. Insisting that her "faire body" (221) only has significance in terms of its hidden riches, Elizabeth Drury's intrinsic treasures are eagerly identified and shared

in *The Second Anniversary*. With all the excitement of geographical explorers plundering riches, "wee" (Donne's readers are invited along) reveal their "large Discoveree, / Of all in her" (231–232) as they chart the internal depths of

> Shee, in whose body…
> The Westerne treasure, Esterne spiceree,
> Europe, and Afrique, and the unknowen rest
> Were easily found, or what in them was best. (226–230)

Like a well-mapped international trade route, along which the riches of the world are easily plundered and procured, her body yields the most desirable foreign treasures. Already highly prized, these commodities will gain potency "when w'have made this large Discoveree, / Of all in her some one part there will bee / Twenty such parts" (232–233). Thus, these rare ingredients, the "plenty and riches" of her body, have the potential to explode into a regenerative force powerful enough "to make twenty such worlds as this" (233–234): virginal quintessence is here excitedly conceived as an atomic force with the power to reproduce worlds. Our experience of déjà vu at the note of elation here is not surprising. The moment is orgasmic, and we cannot fail to recognize, in this barely disguised erotic coveting, echoes of the triumphant shout of another of Donne's explorers as he fantasizes about the treasures (and the pleasures) of the female body: "O my America, my new found land /…/ My mine of precious stones, my empery / How blessed am I in this discovering thee!"[93]

Within the process of masculine spiritual healing that the poems imagine, and consistent with Donne's bodily epistemology, this sexualized act of penetration has a spiritual outcome: experience of the virginal quintessence is good for the soul. Figuratively drained of her corporeality and freed by death from her dangerous sexual inheritance as a woman, Elizabeth Drury contains within herself the regenerative seed with the power to beget incorruptibility, thus providing a safe site—one that rejuvenates rather than debilitates the masculine soul—for anxious imaginings of sexual exploration, penetration, and procreation. This is brought home in *The Second Anniversary*, which imagines the young woman before death as a purified spiritual repository, so virtuous and soothing that "a soule might well be pleas'd to passe / An Age in her" (*SA*, 222–223). Here again we see the Catholic longing for the body of Christ that haunts the poems. The sexually ironic image of a masculine soul spending

an eternity in Elizabeth Drury evokes the belief (discussed earlier) that the Eucharist affords an intensely physical oneness with God in which the communicant enters the body of Christ throughout time and space. However, in the absence of Christ's perfect masculine body, Elizabeth Drury's sexualized essence (but not her body) "might"—the equivocation is teasingly telling—provide a pleasant haven for a man's soul.

While the aim of Othello's fantasy of knowing and controlling the hidden secrets of Desdemona's body is, as Neill points out, "spiritual possession,"[94] the aim of Donne's sexual fantasy of penetrating Elizabeth Drury is spiritual sharing. The erotic agenda of the geographical and spiritual penetration in *The First Anniversary*, in which the parts and anima of Elizabeth Drury's body as progenitors of foreign riches are displayed, is one of generous access. The topoi of the blazon are the treasures created by

> shee whose rich eyes, and brest,
> Guilt the West Indies, and perfum'd the East;
> Whose having breath'd in this world, did bestow
> Spice on those Isles, and bad them still smell so,
> And that rich Indie which doth gold interre,
> Is but as single money, coyn'd from her. (229–234)

Suggestive of the scene in which Othello inhales Desdemona's "balmy breath," the speaker savors Elizabeth Drury as a balm, whose eyes and breasts ooze sweet-smelling and gilt-edged pleasures across the world, infusing and enriching vast regions with her powerful essence. This seductive image mirrors Donne's description of the enchanting essences secreted from another woman's breast in "Elegy 8: The Comparison": "As the almighty balm of th' early east, / Such are the sweat drops of my mistress' breast" (3–4).[95] The world's rare ingredients that lived deep within Elizabeth Drury's body provided, during her life, the perfect energy to give external form to such riches; thus, the precious commodities of the world were made more precious because their very being depended on her progenitive power. All the riches of the world were born from this seed contained within her body. In a convergence of international trade with pharmacology and anatomical science with sexuality, the virginal body is eroticized, commodified, and textually distributed as an exotic spiritual drug, rarefied by its virtuousness.[96]

Because she is never treated as a real body, but as a tissue of metaphors, the confident exposure and identification of Elizabeth Drury's

internal substances reveal an anatomical and pharmacological surefootedness—and a sense of wishful thinking—at odds with the epistemological uncertainty raised in *The Second Anniversary* regarding the mysterious and frequently disgusting internal functionings of the human body. In this much-quoted passage, the limits of anatomical knowledge are exposed:

> Knowst thou but how the stone doth enter in
> The bladders Cave, and never breake the skin?
> Knowst thou how blood, which to the hart doth flow,
> Doth from one ventricle to th'other go?
> And for the putrid stuffe, which thou dost spit,
> Knowst thou how thy lungs have attracted it? (269–274)

The contrast between the anxiety revealed in these lines regarding the mysterious internal processes of the human body, and the epistemological certainty about the contents of the virginal female body, is startlingly revealing. Here the body is constantly under threat and in a state of flux, and epistemological desire is linked to a dangerous corporeal instability, where stones enter, blood flows, and corrupt fluids mysteriously congregate in the lungs.[97] In comparison, there is an easy familiarity with Elizabeth Drury's internal substances and a sense that her body is well mapped—that the speaker has been here before and knows what he will find. The focus of the speaker's perplexity in the above lines, the unknowable and insurgent physical body with its frequently offensive motions, stands in stark relief to the eminently knowable and thus controllable—because distilled in representation to a quintessence—bodily contents of this "Immortal Maid" (*SA*, 516). Thus, the internal analysis and cataloging of one "in whom all white, and redde, and blue / (Beauties ingredients) voluntary grew" (*FA*, 361–362)[98] is a form of verification presenting an aesthetics of purity that predictably defines the desirable ingredients of her body in terms of spiritual and physical incorruptibility. Elizabeth Drury's quintessence, secure in its hymenal surety and untroubled by corporeal grossness, is Donne's poetic creation. It brings an adamant and inviolate model of coherence and refinement to challenge the vision of universal decay and flux in the poems.[99]

In the end, Elizabeth Drury and her regenerative potential are sublimated into the poems themselves. In the *Second Anniversary*, Donne's corpus is prescribed as the mighty elixir vitae that will preserve the world and, in a cunning appropriation of the birthing function that Elizabeth Drury is represented as having willingly

renounced, Donne will give birth to a whole literary tradition in her name:

> Immortal Mayd, who though thou wouldst refuse
> The name of Mother, be unto my Muse,
> A Father since her chast Ambition is,
> Yearely to bring forth such a child as this.
> These Hymes may worke in future wits, and so
> May great Grand-children of thy praises grow.
> And so, though not Revive, enbalme, and spice
> The world, which else would putrify with vice.
> For thus, Man may extend thy progeny,
> Untill man doe but vanish, and not die.
> These Hymns thy issue, may encrease so long,
> As till Gods great Venite change the song. (33–44)

The double entendre of these lines is an example of Donne's wit at its sharpest. His invocation is an imperative to Elizabeth Drury to impregnate his "Muse" with the annual inspiration of more "Hymes" of spiritual enlightenment. Already constructed as the anima of the world's richest stores, she is now imagined as the "fecundating force"[100] of Donne's own creative powers to engender an entire corpus of hymns. However, at the same time, the pun on "hymes/hymns," which also connotes a hymen, draws her into a male coterie of "hims," comprising the poet, the imagined masculine readers of the poems, and the "future wits" or the poems' literary heirs.[101] In this oddly ironic scenario, Elizabeth Drury, now fantasized as masculine sperm, is called upon to inseminate Donne's creative womb, propagating his literary corpus. Furthermore, this fantasy, textual proof of Donne's poetic dexterity, will entertain the poem's masculine audiences, present and future.[102]

And yet, in spite of the sexual irony, Donne imagines an even mightier function for his poems. The *Anniversaries* will sustain Donne's readers until Judgment Day when "Venite change[s] the song," at which time, like Donne's own "insatiate soule," they will slake their spiritual thirst "with Gods safe-sealing Bowle" (*SA*, 45–46), which is, as A.J. Smith argues, "the cup of Christ's blood, which safely seals our salvation."[103] The allusions to Christ and his blood in the chalice offers the reader an invitation to participate in a textual reenactment of the Roman Catholic Mass in Donne's poems. Holy anorexia, the speaker warns in the proviso quoted earlier, will be the lot of those who do not eat "the supernaturall food, Religion." In the final analysis, the salvific offering is Donne's poetry itself, the "ragges of paper"

(*FE*, 11), metynomically suggestive of the wafer-like Elizabeth Drury and the consecrated Eucharistic wafer, that administer a blueprint—a "patterne" (*SA*, 524) on a page—for prosperity.

Donne's *Anniversaries* serve as fascinating, though frustratingly ambiguous, texts with which to conclude my study because they try so hard to elide the ingestible medical and Eucharistic corpses that shadow them, which I have tried so hard to expose. Although corpse pharmacology and a longing for the body of Christ underwrite the language and thematics of the poems, and although the poems offer both remedy and communion, they remain curiously empty of healing corporeal matter: either medical or Eucharistic. It is puzzling then, given Donne's attraction to the body and medicine, and the alimentary need revealed in the poems, that the medicalized and cannibalized bodies that reveal themselves in the other literary texts discussed in my study remain aloof in the *Anniversaries*. The dilemma for Donne lies in the fact that, while what the poems *seek* is the body of Christ as grist for the troubled masculine soul, what the poems *have* is the trace of a dead young virginal woman. This is problematic, not only because her corpse is not up to the enormous poetic and spiritual task that Donne sets for the poems, but also because representations of virtuous female corporeality are complicated, as we see in *Othello*, by cultural anxieties surrounding women's bodies. Like the other texts that have provided eloquent substance for this book, *Othello* and the *Anniversaries* encapsulate how early modern writers eagerly seized upon the imagery produced by medicinal cannibalism in order to respond to a broader set of ideological concerns, particularly as they relate to medicine, religion, economics, sexuality, and identity.

But what also stands out in Shakespeare's and Donne's figurations of the *fille vièrge* is their clear understanding of the implications of the medical deployment of a physical human body once associated with an individual life. In fact, we can argue this for the culture at the time in general when we consider that the medical belief in the healing power of the human body depends on the conviction that life's quintessence lingers in a corpse after death. This registers, of course, the Catholic Eucharist and the way that representations of mummy in many of the texts explored keep circling back to this ritual. In these terms, as I argue in the introduction, corpse matter is multitemporal: its function, efficacy, and value in the present depends upon its past life. The writers with whom this book engages repeatedly remind us that the recycled human corpse is frequently out of step with time. We can make the same argument for

the medical use of bodies today. For example, the medical usefulness of a transplanted kidney to the life with which it *is* associated depends upon, and cannot be separated from, the life with which it *was* associated. This brings me back to the presentist commitment of this book. Medicinal cannibalism in early modern English literature and culture, therefore, cannot be siloed in time; instead, this practice challenges temporality to bring us face to face with the medicalization of bodies in the twenty-first century.

Epilogue

Trafficking the Human Body: Late Modern Cannibalism

In some parts of South Africa today cornea, heart valve, liver, and skin grafts are harvested from the victims of violent deaths (most of them homicides and transport accidents) without the knowledge or consent of family members).

Nancy Scheper-Hughes, "Theft of Life:
The Globalization of Organ Stealing Rumours"[1]

In 1994 the public was shocked once again: by the revelation that materials were being removed from cadavers in hospital morgues and sold to pharmaceutical companies. Pathology workers removed materials such as dura mater, whole brains, pituitary glands, connective tissue, bones of the extremities and the inner ear, and other tissues and gave or sold them either to brokers or directly to pharmaceutical and other firms. This practice had been going on for many years in Germany and other countries, stimulated by the growing demand for human material for research and for processing into other products.

Linda F. Hogle, *Recovering the Nation's Body*

Belief in the capacity of the human body to heal is the driving force of Western corpse pharmacology and the medical trade in human bodies and bodily matter; this is just as true of today's medical market as it was in sixteenth- and seventeenth-century England. This supposition is also the raison d'être of the Catholic belief in the salvific power of Christ's body in the Eucharist. As we have seen, the practice

and rhetoric of the human body fragmented and trafficked as medicine produces multi-layered imagery of bodily consumptions (a term that slips readily between using and eating), which is cannibalistic in its suggestiveness. All of the writers discussed in the previous chapters owe a great deal to the scope and versatility of this imagery in their representations of the body across a range of consumptions: vengeful, political, therapeutic, economic, religious, erotic, and sexual. Further, as I discuss in the introduction, the consumption of the human body in the twenty-first-century medical trade also gives rise to the imagery of cannibalism. And it is the cannibalistic nature of this trade, in its frequent transgression of moral and ethical limits, which inspires the desire to sensationalize in much of the media coverage with which we have become familiar.

From the beginning of this project, I have paid attention to newspaper headlines about the violation and trafficking of bodies and parts for the twenty-first-century medical market, and how they unfailingly reflect aspects of the sixteenth- and seventeenth-century situation. I provide here a small selection of these, which say much about the preoccupations, desires, and expectations of the business of health in our age. "The body harvesters" reports that a body snatching ring in New York City harvested bone, skin, and ligaments from the dead and sold them to medical companies. "China kills for organs" tells of the Chinese killing of Falun Gong dissidents in order to harvest and sell their organs. "Police arrest kidney thieves in quake zone" describes how a gang in Pakistan was caught removing kidneys from the bodies of Kashmiri earthquake victims for sale to hospitals. "Beauty salons fuel Ukrainian trade in aborted foetuses" details how aborted fetuses are being exported from Ukraine for use in illegal beauty treatments.[2] If we transferred the examples of the medical use of bodies I give in chapter 1 to our own age, we could easily produce similar headlines: "Epileptics drink hot blood from Roman gladiator's wounds," "Egyptian mummies traded for medicine," "Bodies of tortured and executed criminals used in drugs," "Unskilled barbers butcher corpses," "Orphans' bodies used for science," "Highwayman sells own corpse to physician," "Corpse matter administered to the sick." In addition, as chapter 1 shows, many of the terms of today's commodification of the body, such as scarcity, need, desire, donation, gift, bond, life, death, supply, and demand also describe the early modern medical corpse market.[3] This is not an attempt to reduce the focus of this book to a few snappy headlines, but rather to show how easy it is to elide by sensationalism what amounts to a serious

erosion of the basic human right—even postmortem, as many would argue—to the bodily autonomy and integrity of the individual.

The notion of bodily autonomy and integrity is an important consideration in the twenty-first-century global trade in human organs. While the medical market I describe can be understood as a small part of the emergence of capitalism in an earlier age, today's trade is deeply implicated in capitalism and its shifting and expanding global hegemony. The newspaper headlines cited above tend to sensationalize their subject matter; yet what they report is consistent with the research of important organizations such as the Bellagio Task Force on Transplantation, Bodily Integrity, and the International Traffic in Organs, which maps the international harvest of, and traffic in, human organs to provide the wealthy and privileged an extension of life. With a focus on moral and ethical integrity, this group has examined and documented the inequities of a trade that relies heavily on state violence and preys on the vulnerable, not only those who are poor and socially marginalized but also, in a different way, those who are desperate to extend life. Here, we see the dark side of the highly lucrative biomedicine industry that comes through clearly as a serious threat to individual rights of the body.[4]

While the similarities between the early modern medical corpse market and the international trade in human organs are clear, less clear in the historical material I examine in chapter 1 is whether there existed any concern in the sixteenth and seventeenth century over what Scheper-Hughes identifies as "modernist values of bodily autonomy and integrity."[5] There is certainly little sign of this in the medical and other texts from which much of my evidence is gathered; this is because most of these texts give the perspective of the socially privileged. However, the feelings, beliefs, and actions of the socially vulnerable—the potential victims of medicine—revealed in these texts suggest that bodily autonomy and integrity *was* a concern. For instance, the conflicts at the gallows between friends and relatives of the executed, on the one hand, and the hangman and physicians, on the other, over bodies bound for dissection reflect the demand for a dignified burial. Summers's selling of his body before death to the physicians was an empowering act, giving him control over the fate of his body. Also, while the metaphorics of corpse medicine are deployed to engage a range of concerns in the literature I examine, notions of the autonomy and integrity of the human body lie behind the abused, violated, dismembered, sacrificed, and consumed bodies imagined in these texts.

The introduction relates the incident of Robert de Fleury, George de Abbot, and William de Abbot, whose executed bodies were, without their consent, distributed in the medical corpse market as experimental matter for dissection. We can only speculate on whether their fragmented bodies were then circulated within commodity systems of corpse matter exchange. What we do know is that such a market existed and that the human body and its parts, tissues, and excretions were important commodities in the business of health in the age. What was done in the name of medicine to the bodies of these three men, and to all the other bodies that shadow the pages of this book, is not just a troubling anomaly in the history of Western "civilization"; rather, it is an important, albeit brief, moment in the long history of the medical use—and misuse and abuse—of human bodies. This is not, however, a strictly chronological history. With its ability to disturb and disrupt time, the medical corpse, part of the DNA of human genography, flows in and out of time to apply pressure on human experiences in other times and places. From the moment of its processing in the name of medicine, corpse matter manifests both death and life, sickness and health, despair and hope, science and religion, past and future, and as such discloses the human complexities of the world of its production. What I have been advocating is that these complexities are not unique to a single time and place; rather, they resist such temporal definition. In this way, corpse matter speaks through time from the distant and recent past to inform the present and the future, and the lingerings of those early modern healing corpses are deeply embedded in the largely hidden-from-view medically fragmented and commodified bodies on which today's global medical market depends. As such, they continue to haunt the crevices of culture most would prefer to deny or ignore.

Notes

Introduction The Pharmacological Corpse: The Practice and Rhetoric of Bodily Consumptions

1. Peggy Reeves Sanday, *Divine Hunger: Cannibalism as a Cultural System* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1986) 3.
2. Samuel Johnson, *Johnson's Dictionary: A Modern Selection,* ed. E.L. McAdam, Jr. and George Milne (New York: Pantheon Books, 1963) 258.
3. Nancy Scheper-Hughes and Loïc Wacquant, eds., *Commodifying Bodies* (London: Sage Publications, 2002) 5.
4. I wish to acknowledge my debt here to Gil Harris's interrogation of temporality and matter in his inspiring book, *Untimely Matter in the Time of Shakespeare* (Philadelphia: University of Pennsylvania Press, 2008). This book makes a timely incursion into my thinking about the challenge to temporality that medical corpse matter presents.
5. William Shakespeare, *Macbeth,* in *The Riverside Shakespeare,* gen. ed. G. Blakemore Evans (Boston: Houghton Mifflin Company, 1974) 4.1.23. Unless otherwise indicated, all references to Shakespeare's plays and sonnets are from this text.
6. Piero Camporesi, "The Consecrated Host: A Wondrous Excess," *Fragments for a History of the Human Body,* ed. Michel Feher, vol. 1 (New York: Zone, 1989) 221.
7. Here I am working with Derrida's idea of the trace as set out by Gayatri Spivak, which "is not only the disappearance of origin… it means that the origin did not even disappear, that it was never constituted except reciprocally by a non-origin, the trace, which thus becomes the origin of the origin." In Jacques Derrida, *Of Grammatology,* trans. Gayatri Chakravorty Spivak (Baltimore: Johns Hopkins University Press, 1976) xviii.
8. William Knipe, ed., *Criminal Chronology of York Castle; with a register of the criminals capitally convicted and executed at the county assizes* (York: 1867) 7.
9. Much work has been done on what has been identified as the "culture of dissection." Jonathan Sawday offers a fascinating discussion in *The Body Emblazoned: Dissections and the Human Body in Renaissance Culture* (London: Routledge, 1995). More recent is Hillary M. Nunn's *Staging Anatomies: Dissection and Spectacle in Early Stuart Tragedy* (Aldershot: Ashgate Publishing Limited, 2005). Also, for a

lively reading of the performance of medicine, see Roy Porter, *Bodies Politic: Disease, Death and Doctors in Britain, 1650–1900* (Ithaca: Cornell University Press, 2001).

10. See, for example, Jo Revill, "Kidney patients offered organs of dead Chinese," *Guardian Weekly,* December 16–22, 2005, 12.
11. Scheper-Hughes, *Commodifying Bodies,* 1. As well, for a clear exposé of this problematic and economy, see Scheper-Hughes, "The Global Traffic in Human Organs," *Current Anthropology* 41.2 (2000): 191–225. This book owes much to the work of Scheper-Hughes, which has helped me identify and clarify the resemblances between the early and late modern medical markets in human bodies.
12. Of course, these are not the only bodily traces to be considered. The history of the medical deployment of corpses is an ancient one; however, while some mention of this history is made in chapter 1, the focus of this study is the early modern medical corpse and its literary deployments. In different places I draw attention to the important implications this has for our understanding of today's medical trade in bodies.
13. Anthony Purdy, "The Bog Body as Mnemotope: Nationalist Archaeologies in Heaney and Tournier," *Style* 36.1 (2002): 93.
14. Harris, *Untimely Matter,* 3–4, 9–10.
15. John Donne, "Love's Alchemy," *John Donne: The Complete English Poems,* ed. A.J. Smith (London: Penguin Books, 1986) 65. All references to Donne's poems, other than the *Anniversaries,* are from this volume.
16. Julia Kristeva, *Powers of Horror: An Essay in Abjection* (New York: Columbia University Press, 1982) 4.
17. Shakespeare, *Twelfth Night,* 3.2.62–63.
18. Oswald Croll, *Bazilica Chymica and Praxis Chymiatricae or Royal and Practical Chymistry 1609,* trans. John Hartman (London, 1670) 156. A similar recipe for embalming is offered by the English physician Dr. Alexander Read, *Chirurgorum Comes: or the Whole Practice of Chirurgery Begun by the Learned Dr. Read* (London: 1687) 710.
19. This is the tone taken by writers such as Mary Roach, who sensationalizes historical uses of the body, such as corpse pharmacology, in her work, *Stiff: The Curious Lives of Human Cadavers* (New York: W.W. Norton & Company, 2003).
20. Robert Darnton, *The Great Cat Massacre and Other Episodes in French Cultural History* (New York: Vintage Books, 1985) 4–5.
21. Fredric Jameson, "War and Representation," *PMLA* 124.5 (2009): 1533.
22. Harris, *Untimely Matter,* 2.
23. Ruth Richardson identifies the affinities between the early dissection of the human body for anatomical study and more recently for transplantation, and a shared market dynamic in acquiring corpses in terms of artificial perceptions of scarcity and need: "Fearful

Symmetry: Corpses for Anatomy, Organs for Transplantation," *Organ Transplantation: Meanings and Realities* (Madison: University of Wisconsin Press, 1996). See also Scheper-Hughes's discussion of Richardson, *Commodifying Bodies,* 3.

24. Marshall Sahlins, "Raw Women, Cooked Men, and other 'Great Things' of the Fiji Islands," *The Ethnography of Cannibalism,* ed. Paula Brown and Donald Tuzin (Washington: Society for Psychological Anthropology, 1983) 88.
25. See William Arens's discussion of Sahlin's point in "Rethinking Anthropophagy," *Cannibalism and the Colonial World*, ed. Francis Barker, Peter Hulme, and Margaret Iversen (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1998) 46. For an overview of the debate about what constitutes cannibalism, see the Introduction to Barker et al., *Cannibalism and the Colonial World*. See also William Arens, *The Man-Eating Myth: Anthropology and Anthropophagy* (New York: Oxford University Press, 1979); Peter Hulme, *Colonial Encounters: Europe and the Native Caribbean, 1492–1797* (London: Methuen, 1986) and "Making No Bones: A Response to Myra Jehlen," *Critical Inquiry* 20.1 (1993): 179–187; Myra Jehlen, "Response to Peter Hulme," *Critical Inquiry* 20.1 (1993): 187–191; and Gananath Obeyesekere, " 'British Cannibals': Contemplation of an Event in the Death and Resurrection of James Cook, Explorer," *Critical Inquiry* 18 (1992): 630–654. Also, for a thoughtful philosophical discussion of the symbolism of all forms of eating, see Michael Allen Fox, *Deep Vegetarianism* (Philadelphia: Temple University Press, 1999) 23–38.
26. Francis Barker identifies early modern English culture as a "culture of violence," as his title makes clear. See Francis Barker, *The Culture of Violence: Tragedy and History* (Manchester: Manchester University Press, 1993). Also, Jonathan Sawday describes the public punishment and mutilation of human bodies as "spectacles of suffering," 81.
27. The phrase is from Joseph S. Alter, "Comment," Scheper-Hughes, "Global Traffic," 211.
28. Michel de Montaigne, "On Cannibals," *Essays*, trans. J.M. Cohen (London: Penguin Books, 1993) 114.
29. Obeyesekere, 650.
30. See Henrich von Staden's discussion of matter as a matrix of meaning in "Women and Dirt," *Helios* 19.1–2 (1992): 7. A special thanks is due to Dana Medoro for bringing this article to my attention.
31. Michael Ondaatje, *Divisadero* (New York: Vintage Books, 2007) 268.
32. Rupert Brooke, "Mummia," *The Collected Poems of Rupert Brooke* (London: Sidgwick & Jackson, 1932).
33. Ricoeur, *The Rule of Metaphor: Multidisciplinary Studies of the Creation of Meaning in Language* (Toronto: University of Toronto Press, 1981) 24.

34. Shakespeare, *Hamlet,* 3.4.142–149.
35. Michel Foucault, *The Archaeology of Knowledge* (New York: Routledge, 2003) 167–168.
36. In his introduction to *Putting History to the Question: Power, Politics, and Society in English Renaissance Drama* (New York: Columbia University Press, 2000). Michael Neill argues that literary texts "are unfailingly sensitive registers of social attitudes and assumptions, fears and desires," 3.
37. Cynthia Ozick, *Memory and Metaphor* (New York: Alfred A. Knopf, 1989) 282.
38. See Harris's discussion of Stallybrass who argues for the "polychronicity and multitemporality" of texts "which allow the old to operate alongside the new," *Untimely Matter*, 17.
39. Harris, *Untimely Matter,* 2.
40. National Geographic Society, The Genographic Project, December 7, 2009, https://genographic.nationalgeographic.com/genographic/index.html.
41. Bruno Latour, *We Have Never Been Modern,* trans. Catherine Porter (New York: Harvester Wheatsheaf, 1993) 75.
42. Shakespeare, "Sonnet 53."
43. There is, as Maggie Kilgour points out, another close relationship between language and ingesting matter: "[V]erbal communication [is] rooted in the body and yet detached from it." *From Communion to Cannibalism: An Anatomy of Metaphors of Incorporation* (Princeton: Princeton University Press, 1990) 8. However, I argue here that human matter is itself a form of language that communicates.
44. Ozick, 268.
45. Robert Danborn, *A Christian Turn'd Turke* (London: 1612) 1.5.
46. For a discussion of literary form as a cultural practice, see Stephen Cohen, "Between Form and Culture: New Historicism and the Promise of a Historical Formalism," *Renaissance Literature and its Formal Engagements,* ed. Mark David Rasmussen (New York: Palgrave, 2002).
47. William Shakespeare, *Titus Andronicus,* ed. Alan Hughes (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1994).
48. Ambroise Paré, *The Workes of that famous Chirurgion Ambrose Parey,* trans. Thomas Johnson (London, 1649) 333.
49. Thomas Nashe, *The Unfortunate Traveller, An Anthology of Elizabethan Prose Fiction,* ed. Paul Salzman (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 1998); John Fletcher and Philip Massinger, *The Sea Voyage*, *The Dramatic Works in the Beaumont and Fletcher Canon,* gen. ed. Fredson Bowers, vol. IX (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1994).
50. Edmund Spenser, *The Faerie Queene,* ed. Thomas P. Roche, Jr. (London: Penguin, 1987). John Donne, *Devotions Upon Emergent*

Occasions, ed. Anthony Raspa (Montreal: McGill-Queen's University Press, 1975).

51. Catherine Waldby and Robert Mitchell, *Tissue Economies: Blood, Organs, and Cell Lines in Late Capitalism* (Durham: Duke University Press, 2006) 8.
52. Waldby and Mitchell, 6.

1 THE MUMMY CURE: FRESH UNSPOTTED CADAVERS

1. Leonardo da Vinci, *Prophecies,* trans. J.G. Nichols (London: Hesperus Press Limited, 2002) 32.
2. James Howell, *Therologia, the parly of beasts* (London: 1660) 8.
3. Owsei Temkin, *The Falling Sickness,* 2nd ed. (Baltimore: Johns Hopkins University Press, 1971) 22.
4. See P.M. Rattansi, "Paracelsus and the Puritan Revolution," *Ambix* 11 (1963): 24–32, esp. 24.
5. See Karen Gordon-Grube, "Evidence of Medicinal Cannibalism in Puritan New England: 'Mummy' and Related Remedies in Edward Taylor's 'Dispensatory,'" *Early American Literature* 28.3 (1993): 185–221, esp. 201; Walter Pagel, *Paracelsus: An Introduction to Philosophical Medicine in the Era of the Renaissance* (Basel: Karger, 1958); Arthur Edward Waite, ed., *The Hermetic and Alchemical Writings of Aureolus Philippus Theophrastus Bombast, of Hohnheim, Called Paracelsus the Great* (London, 1894) 168–169. For a discussion of the differences between Galenic and Paracelsian pharmacology and early modern medical doctrine in general, see Nancy Siraisi, *Medieval and Early Renaissance Medicine* (Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 1990) and Lawrence Brockliss and Colin Jones, *The Medical World of Early Modern France* (Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1977).
6. These translated treatises and those written in English reveal a dedication to demystifying medical knowledge and making it more accessible. In the introduction to his 1574 translation of Franciscus Arcaeus' *A most excellent and compendious method of curing woundes in the head,* John Read writes, "Why grutch they Chirurgerie should come foorth in English? Would they have no man to know but onely one?" (London, 1574). For the recommendation of taking blood and women's milk, see Marsilio Ficino, *Three Books on Life,* ed. Carol V. Kaske and John R. Clark (Binghamton: Medieval and Renaissance Texts and Studies, 1989) 197.
7. Christopher Merrett, *A Short View of the Frauds, and Abuses Committed by Apothecaries* (London, 1670) 38.
8. *Pharmacopoeia Londinensis,* ed. George Urdang (Milwaukee: Hammersmith-Kortmeyer, 1944) 19.

9. For example, John Hartman in his translation of Croll prescribes a goose dung vapor "which will ascend through a chair (the Diseased sitting in a chair) to the Natural parts" for obstruction of the menses. This treatment is consistent with Hippocratic vapour treatments for the removal of female impurities. See Heinrich Von Staden's excellent discussion of Hippocratic dirt therapy, "Women and Dirt," Helios 19.1–2 (1992): 7–30.
10. Von Staden, 16.
11. Piero Camporesi, *The Incorruptible Flesh* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1988) 11.
12. Von Staden, 8.
13. Von Staden, 8–9
14. Von Staden, 8–9.
15. Gordon-Grube, "Evidence," 194.
16. Karl H. Dannenfeldt, "Egyptian Mumia: The Sixteenth Century Experience and Debate," *The Sixteenth Century Journal* 16.2 (1985): 163–180, esp. 164. Dannenfeldt presents a comprehensive picture of the history of mummy and its role in early modern medicine. It is also interesting to note that Dioscorides includes women's milk, menstrual blood, and men's urine as remedies. See *The Greek Herbal of Dioscorides,* ed. Robert T. Gunther (New York: Hafner Publishing Company, 1968).
17. Thomas Joseph Pettigrew, *History of Egyptian Mummies* (London: Longman, Rees, Orme, Green and Longman, 1834) 9.
18. In his article Dannenfeldt carefully maps this process of transference from an ancient to a sixteenth-century understanding of the pharmacological benefits of mummy.
19. Plinio Prioreschi, *A History of Medicine* (Omaha: Horatius, 1995) 380.
20. Warren R. Dawson situates the popularity of mummy from the twelfth to the seventeenth centuries, but I argue that the pharmacological use of mummy continued well into the eighteenth century, and occasionally beyond. See Dawson, "Mummy as a Drug," *Proceedings of the Royal Society of Medicine* 21.1 (1927): 34–39, esp. 34.
21. Karen Gordon-Grube, "Anthropophagy in Post-Renaissance Europe: The Tradition of Medicinal Cannibalism," *American Anthropologist* 90.2 (1988): 405–409, esp. 406.
22. John Schroder, *The Compleate Chymical Dispensatory, in Five Books,* trans. Dr. William Rowland (London: 1669) 506.
23. Dannenfeldt, 173.
24. Robert Fludd, *Hoplocrisma spongus* (London: 1631).
25. Francis Bacon, *Sylva Sylvarum: or A Natural History, in Ten Centuries* (London, 1676) 213. Bacon also advocates mummy and the moss from an unburied man's skull for staunching blood, 210, 213.

26. For example, mummy is listed in Thomas Vicary, *The English-Mans Treasure. With the True Anatomy of Mans Body,* (London: 1633).
27. Pettigrew, 7.
28. Schroder, 520–521.
29. Robert James, *Pharmacopoeia Universalis: or, A New Universal English Dispensatory* (London, 1747) 511.
30. James, 512.
31. James, 512.
32. James, 512.
33. James, 512.
34. Lewes Roberts, *The merchants mappe of commerce* (London, 1638).
35. Samuel Pepys, *Diary of Samuel Pepys,* ed. R. Latham and W. Matthews, vol. 2 (London: G. Bell and Sons / Berkeley and Los Angeles: University of California Press, 1970) 197.
36. Dannenfeldt, 170.
37. Quoted in Dannenfeldt, 176.
38. William Knipe, ed., *Criminal Chronology of York Castle; with a register of the criminals capitally convicted and executed at the county assizes* (York, 1867) 7. See also, Jessie Dobson, "The 'Anatomizing' of Criminals," *Annals of the Royal College of Surgeons of England*, 9 (1951): 112–120, and Sawday, 56.
39. Francis Barker, *The Culture of Violence: Tragedy and History* (Manchester: Manchester University Press, 1993) 201.
40. In Knipe's comprehensive account, all those sentenced to dissection were from the lower classes.
41. David Lloyd, *Memoires of the lives* (London, 1668) 221.
42. John Fell, *The life of the most learned, reverent and pious Dr. H. Hammond* (London, 1662) 234.
43. William Cornwallis, *Discourses upon Seneca the tragedian* (London, 1601) 6.
44. Linda F. Hogle, "Standardization across Non-Standard Domains: The Case of Organ Procurement," *Science, Technology, and Human Values* 20 (1995): 493.
45. Henry Goodcole, *Heavens Speedie Hue and Cry sent after Lust and Murther* (London, 1635) 12.
46. Donne, "Upon Mr Thomas Coryat's Crudities," *Complete Poems,* 173.
47. *The New Shorter Oxford English Dictionary.*
48. Quoted in Lynn Thorndike, *History of Magic and Experimental Science,* 4th ed., vol. 5 (New York: Columbia University Press, 1966) 502.
49. Ben Jonson, *Volpone,* ed. Brian Parker and David Bevington (Manchester: Manchester University Press, 1999) 2.2.
50. See Sawday, 59.
51. Andrew Whalen, "Gang killed people to use their fat in cosmetics," *Sydney Morning Herald* 21–22 November (2009): 15.

52. Sidney Young, *The Annals of the Barber-Surgeons* of London (London, 1890) 112.
53. There are numerous texts attesting to the dubious qualifications of many medical practitioners. For example, *A Detection of some Faults in Unskilful Physitians, and unknowing running Chirurgians,* "Written by a Doctor of Physick in Queen Elizabeths Daye," (London, 1662), offers scathing descriptions of the incompetencies of many physicians, surgeons, and apothecaries, and attests to the frequency of unskilled practices.
54. Young 320, 346. Similar problems occurred in Padua where autopsies were forbidden because "improprieties had occurred and parts of bodies had been secretly conveyed away from the institution," quoted in Dr. Theodor Puschmann, *A History of Medical Education from The Most Remote to the Most Recent Times,* trans. and ed. Evan H. Hare (London, 1891) 333.
55. Young 321, 362; Dobson, 568.
56. Clarendon Hyde Creswell, *The Royal College of Surgeons of Edinburgh: Historical Notes from 1505–1905* (Edinburgh: Oliver & Boyd, 1926) 192–193.
57. Creswell, 192.
58. Ruth Richardson makes the point that "once the need for human dissection material was recognized, a supply was obtained; and once the supply was obtained, it was found to fall short of demand. Shortage both intensified demand and prompted illicit supply." See "Fearful Symmetry," *Organ Transplantation: Meanings and Realities,* ed. Stuart J. Youngner, Renée Fox, and Laurence J. O'Connell (Madison: University of Wisconsin Press, 1996) 70.
59. "Summers his Frolick," *The Pepys Ballads,* ed. H.E. Rollins, vol. 7 (Cambridge: Harvard University Press, 1929–1932) 40–43.
60. Waldby and Mitchell, 23.
61. Scheper-Hughes, "Global Traffic," 194.
62. Philip Massinger, *The Picture: a Tragaecomaedie* (London, 1630) Sc. 1.
63. *Volpone,* 4.4.14.
64. Creswell, 52.
65. A.M. Lassek, *Human Dissection: Its Drama and Struggle* (Springfield: Charles C. Thomas, 1958) 153; Young, 218; Dobson, 3.
66. W. Burdet, "A Wonder of Wonders" (Oxford: 1651). This story is also cited in Sawday, 61, 220.
67. James Shirley, *The Bird Cage,* ed. Frances Frazier Senescu (Garland: New York, 1980) 1.1.319.
68. Merrett, 8, 13.
69. "*A Detection,*" 151.
70. Samuel Garth, *The Dispensary a Poem* (London, 1699).
71. "*A Detection,*" 153.
72. Merrett, 50.

73. Ambroise Paré, *The Workes of that famous Chirurgion Ambrose Parey*, trans. Thomas Johnson (London, 1694) 333.
74. Philip Sidney, *A Defence of Poetry,* ed. J.A. Van Dorsten (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 1989) 53.
75. As Michael Neill notes, "A Renaissance public dissection, then, was at least as much a piece of drama, a species of didactic tragedy, as it was a scientific event," *Issues of Death: Mortality and Identity in English Renaissance Tragedy:* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 1998) 119.
76. Gideon Harvey, *The Conclave of Physicians* (London: 1686).
77. Mabel Peacock, "Executed Criminals and Folk-medicine," *Folklore* 27.7 (1896) 268–283, esp. 270–271. Also quoted in Gordon-Grube, "Anthropophagy," 407. This method of collecting blood also seems consistent with the cure Paracelsus advocates in his doctrine of epilepsy—Paracelsus prescribes blood from a decapitated man, administered according to certain astrological rules, as a remedy for epilepsy. See Temkin, 176.
78. Thorndike, vol. 8, 536.
79. But the notion that the eater takes on the characteristics of the eaten can also be viewed in a positive way, as the recent case in Germany of Armin Meiwes shows. Meiwes, who ate his willing victim, Bernd Brandes, claimed that "Brandes spoke good English . . . and since eating him his English had improved." Luke Harding, *Guardian Unlimited: Special Report*, December 4, 2003, http://www.guardian.co.uk/germany/article/0,2763,1099477,00.html, accessed January 11, 2008.
80. Waldby and Mitchell, 6.
81. Johnson, 258–259.
82. Dannendfeldt, 179.
83. Gordon-Grube, "Anthropophagy," 407.
84. Scheper-Hughes, "Global Traffic," 11.
85. Quoted in Dannenfeldt, 176.
86. Thorndike, vol. 8, 414 and vol. 7, 246.
87. This anonymous account is quoted by Richard Hakluyt in *The Principal Navigations, Voyages, Traffiques and Discoveries of the English Nation,* vol. 2 (London, 1599) 2.1.201.
88. Paré is referring to "new" mummy here and his reference to eating executed bodies reinforces my hypothesis that executed bodies were used for mummy, 145.
89. Georges Bataille, *Erotism: Death and Sensuality,* trans. Mary Dalwood (San Francisco: City Lights Books, 1957) 71.
90. Thorndike, vol. 8, 414.
91. Francis Rabelais, *Gargantua and Pantagruel,* ed. Peter Anthony Motteux (New York: Barnes & Noble, 2005) 269.
92. *The Merry Wives of Windsor*, (3.5.16-18); John Webster, *The Duchess of Malfi, The Works of John Webster* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1995) 4.2.117; Francis Rabelais, *Gargantua*, 269; Sir Thomas

Browne, *Hydriotaphia. The Major Works,* ed. C.A. Patrides (London: Penguin, 1977) 312.

2 MEDICINE, CANNIBALISM, AND REVENGE JUSTICE: *TITUS ANDRONICUS*

1. John Marston, "Proemium in Librum Tertium," *The Scourge of Villanie* (London, 1598).
2. Georg Büchner, *Danton's Death,* trans. John Reddick (London: Penguin Books, 1993) 2.1.
3. Thomas Kyd, *The Spanish Tragedy,* ed. David Bevington, Revels Student Editions (Manchester: Manchester University Press, 1996) 1.2.59–60.
4. Stevie Simkin, ed., *Revenge Tragedy*, (New York: Palgrave, 2001) 9.
5. John Webster, *The White Devil,* ed. J. R. Mulryne (University of Nebraska Press, 1970) 2.1.248–249 and 2.1.282–284; John Fletcher and Philip Massinger, *The Sea Voyage*, *The Dramatic Works in the Beaumont and Fletcher Canon,* gen. ed. Fredson Bowers, vol. IX (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1994) 3.1.168–170. S.S., *The Honest Lawyer* (London, 1616) 3.28–30.
6. William Shakespeare, *Titus Andronicus,* ed. Alan Hughes (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1994). Parenthetical referencing will be used for all references to *Titus Andronicus.* All other texts will appear as endnote references.
7. Here I disagree with Francis Barker who argues that the "graphic violence of the drama serves to direct attention away from, rather than toward, the elimination of huge numbers of the population," in *The Culture of Violence: Tragedy and History* (Manchester: Manchester University Press, 1993) 190.
8. Jean Howard, "Competing Ideologies of Commerce in Thomas Heywood's *If You Know Not Me You Know Nobody, Part II," The Culture of Capital: Property, Cities and Knowledge in Early Modern England,* ed. Henry S. Turner (Routledge: New York, 2002) 163.
9. Elizabeth Hanson, "There's Meat and Money Too: Rich Widows and Allegories of Wealth in Jacobean City Comedy," *ELH* 72 (2005): 210.
10. Ovid, *Metamorphoses,* trans. A.D. Melville (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 1986) 141–142.
11. Ovid, 141.
12. John Shirley, *The life of the valiant & learned Sir Walter Raleigh* (London, 1677) 237.
13. Terry Eagleton, *Sweet Violence: The Idea of the Tragic* (Oxford: Blackwell Publishing, 2003) xii.
14. Louis Gernet, *The Anthropology of Ancient Greece,* trans. John Hamilton, S.J. and Blaise Nagy (Baltimore: Johns Hopkins University Press, 1981) 266.

15. C.W., *The Crying Murther,* in Joseph H. Marshburn and Alan R. Velie, *Blood and Knavery: A Collection of English Renaissance Pamphlets and Ballads of Crime and Sin* (New Jersey: Fairleigh Dickinson University Press, 1973) 42–43.
16. *Macbeth,* 4.3.213–216.
17. Kerry Lauerman, "Killing as 'closure'," *Salon,* April 14, 2001, http://archive.salon.com/news/feature/2001/04/14/mcveigh/print.html, accessed January 13, 2006.
18. Ronald Broude, "Revenge and Revenge Tragedy in Renaissance England," *Renaissance Quarterly* 28 (1975) 41.
19. Pierre Macherey, *A Theory of Literary Production,* trans. Geoffrey Wall (London: Routledge & Kegan Paul, 1978) 93-94.
20. Seneca, *Agamemnon,* ed. R.J. Tarrant (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1976) 44–48.
21. Catherine Waldby and Robert Mitchell, *Tissue Economies: Blood, Organs, and Cell Lines in Late Capitalism* (Durham: Duke University Press, 2006) 2.
22. I disagree with Albert H. Tricomi's argument that the figurative language of the play is limited to the "gruesome circumstances of the plot" and fails to extend beyond the limits of the stage. See "The Aesthetics of Mutilation," *Shakespeare's Early Tragedies: Richard III, Titus Andronicus and Romeo and Juliet* (London: MacMillan, 1990) 99–113.
23. Heinrich von Staden, "Women and Dirt," *Helios* 19.1–2 (1992): 16.
24. Rene Girard, *Violence and the Sacred*, trans. Patrick Gregory (Baltimore: Johns Hopkins University Press, 1979) 33.
25. In his chapter "Stoicism and Empire," Gordon Braden offers a fascinating analysis of the political critique of the "torment of Neronian Rome" in Senecan tragedy. See *Renaissance Tragedy and the Senecan Tradition* (New Haven: Yale University Press, 1985) 8. Andrew V. Ettin argues that the literary sources for the violence in the play are products of the "Roman" imaginations of Ovid and Seneca, in "Shakespeare's First Roman Tragedy," *ELH* 37 (1970): 326.
26. Braden, 8.
27. Copellia Kahn also argues that Shakespeare makes *Titus* a "serious critique of Roman ideology, institutions, and mores," in *Roman Shakespeare: Warriors, Wounds and Women* (New York: Routledge, 1997) 47.
28. Emily C. Bartels, "Making More of the Moor: Aaron, Othello, and Renaissance Refashionings of Race," in Philip C. Kolin, ed., *Titus Andronicus: Critical Essays* (New York: Garland Publishing, 1995) 265–266.
29. See also Anthony Pagden's useful discussion of the image of the barbarian in *The Fall of Natural Man,* 2nd ed. (New York: Cambridge University Press, 1992) 15–26 and Hulme, *Colonial Encounters: Europe and the Native Caribbean*, *1492–1797* (London: Methuen,

1986) for a discussion of the ideological role for early modern Europeans of descriptions of outsiders as eaters of human flesh, esp. 86–87.

30. For example, in *This World's Folly,* as Michael Neill has shown, "I.H." locates the corrupted source of the plague—the "Bawdy Players"—in the "feminized body politic of the city, where a literal disease is produced by the taint of metaphoric uncleanness." Neill is quoting from I.H., *This Worlds Folly; or, A Warning-Peece discharged upon the Wickedness thereof* (London, 1615). In *Issues,* 25.
31. Woodbridge also makes this point in her description of the tomb as the "dominant stage image . . . that keeps swallowing Andronici," 172, in "Palisading the Elizabethan Body Politic," *Texas Studies in Literature and Language* (1991): 33.3 (1991, and Maurice Charney writes that the tomb offers "an implicit metaphor of the earth swallowing its own increase in burial," in "Titus Andronicus," *Harvester New Critical Introductions to Shakespeare* (Hertfordshire: Harvester Wheatsheaf, 1990) 96. David Willbern also notes that in these lines, Titus associates Rome with the mother's womb. See "Rape and Revenge in *Titus Andronicus,*" ed. Philip C. Kolin (New York: Garland Publishing, 1995) 173.
32. "Headless." *The New Shorter Oxford English Dictionary,* 1993 ed. Willbern also notes that the restoration of Rome is the goal that underpins the play, "Rape and Revenge," 188.
33. Jonathan Gil Harris, *Foreign Bodies and the Body Politic* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1998) 35.
34. Gail Kern Paster identifies Rome's dependence on these "sacrificial victim[s]" who allow "the city, once again, to live," in "To Starve With Feeding," *Titus Andronicus: Critical Essays,* ed. Philip C. Kolin, 229.
35. Elaine Scarry, *The Body in Pain: The Making and the Unmaking of the World* (New York: Oxford University Press, 1985) 121–122.
36. Waldby and Mitchell, 3.
37. Kirby Farrell, *Play, Death and Heroism in Shakespeare* (Chapel Hill: University of North Carolina Press, 1989) 10. Also quoted in Neill, *Issues*, 32.
38. See Girard, *Violence and the Sacred*, 7, 18, and his discussion of the role of the *pharmakos* in Greek tragedy, 94–98.
39. Jacques Derrida offers a complex discussion of the implications of the translation of *pharmakon* as either remedy or poison, in Plato's *Phaedras,* and the impact of this on the tradition of Western Philosophy. See *Dissemination* (Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 1981) esp. "Plato's Pharmacy." See also, Girard, 95.
40. Tamora is also very much a part of the vendetta between the Romans and the Goths. Ronald Broud points out that an understanding of this "enables us to see the element of justice in her position" and thus

to appreciate the deeper complexities of the play, in "Revenge and Revenge Tragedy in Renaissance England," *Renaissance Quarterly* 28 (1975): 55.

41. Girard, 21.
42. Neill offers an insightful understanding of revenge as an anxious response to death, and the psychological state of the revenger in his discussion of *Hamlet*, in *Issues of Death: Mortality and Identity in English Renaissance Tragedy:* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 1998) 243–261.
43. Lavinia and Bassianus are not entirely blameless, and their malicious tauntings of Tamora further illustrate Roman malevolence and reinforce Tamora rejecting Lavinia's pleas, just as Titus refused Tamora's.
44. In *The Body Emblazoned,* Sawday offers an extensive discussion of the early modern fascination with the internal workings of the human body.
45. Much has been written about this reference to female genitalia, which ominously signals the rape of Lavinia, and the connection between the Andronici tomb and the "swallowing womb" of feminized Rome. In particular, for a persuasive discussion of the gynecological imagery of the cannibalistic feminine earth, see Marion Wynn-Davies, "'The swallowing womb': Consumed and Consuming Women in *Titus Andronicus,*" *The Matter of Difference: Materialist Feminist Criticism of Shakespeare*, ed. V. Wayne (Ithaca: Cornell University Press, 1991) 129–151.
46. Piero Camporesi, *Juice of Life: The Symbolic and Magic Significance of Blood,* trans. Robert R. Barr (New York: Continuum, 1995) 31, is quoting from Fioravanti, *De capricci medicinali* (Venice: 1602). See also Gail Kern Paster's inspiring discussion of "laudable blood" in which she maps the complex "cultural symbology" of blood in early modern England in *The Body Embarrassed: Drama and the Disciplines of Shame in Early Modern England* (Ithaca: Cornell University Press, 1993) 64–112.
47. Paster, 66.
48. Girard, 34.
49. von Staden, 20. See also his analysis of the tradition of a belief in female impurity, 13–14, and Paster's discussion of the early modern understanding of the "plethoric" nature of women, *The Body*, 79.
50. Girard, 36.
51. Girard, 36.
52. See, for example, Helkiah Crooke, *Microkosmografia: A Description of the Body of Man, 1615* (London: 1631).
53. Paster also identifies Lavinia's blood as vaginal or menstrual, *The Body*, 98.
54. John H. Langbein, *Prosecuting Crime in the Renaissance: England, Germany, France* (Cambridge: Harvard University Press, 1974).

55. See von Staden's article for a discussion of the gendering of Hippocratic dirt therapy. In general this therapy is consistent with the homeopathic nature of Paracelsian medicine and also, as Urdang writes in his introduction to the *Pharmacopoeia Londinensis,* with the trend away from the polypharmacy of the Galenists toward "Hippocratic simplicity" evident in the *Pharmacopoeia,* 32. Menses, used both externally and internally is a frequently mentioned ingredient in early modern pharmacy.
56. von Staden, 14–15.
57. Further, in this ideology of bodily disintegration, by representing the live dismemberment of Lavinia, Shakespeare also gives form to the idea of live dissection. As Jonathan Sawday notes, "The charge that anatomists were also vivisectionists was to haunt the theatres of dissection throughout the early-modern period," *The Body Emblazoned: Dissections and the Human Body in Renaissance Culture* (London: Routledge, 1995) 80. See also Helkiah Crooke's objection to living dissections: "[I]t is not Anatomy but butchery, to mangle the trembling members of a mans body, and under I know not what slender idle pretence of profit, or behoose, to violate the sacred Law of nature, and of religion," *Microkosmografia,* 18.
58. John Dover Wilson, ed., *Titus Andronicus* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1968) 148n; Alan Hughes, ed., *Titus Andronicus* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1994) 97, 127n.
59. In his discussion of *Othello,* Walter Cohen makes the similar point that "Shakespeare's humour shatters the norms of dramatic and moral suitability, implying the artificiality of what is conventionally considered 'normal' or 'proper,' in Stephen Greenblatt, ed., *The Norton Shakespeare* (New York: W.W. Norton, 1997) 377. Also, there are other places in the play that are played for laughs, for example 2.3.110, 3.1.91, 3.2.29 which Alan Hughes identifies as puns, albeit "atrocious" ones, 127.
60. Jessie Dobson, *Barbers and Barber-Surgeons of London: A History of the Barbers' and Barber-Surgeons' Companies*, (Oxford: Blackwell Scientific, 1979) 15.
61. Dobson, 34.
62. Sidney Young, *The Annals of the Barber-Surgeons of London* (London, 1890) 318. Numerous complaints were published against unskilled surgeons and imposters. Two examples are surgeon Daniel Turner's *Apologia Chyurgica. A Vindication of the Noble Art of Chyrurgery, from the gross Abuses offer"d thereunto by Mountebanks, Quacks, Barbers, Pretending Bone-Setters, with other Ignorant Undertakers* (London: 1695), and *A Detection of some Faults in Unskilful Physitians, and unknowing running Chirurgians: Written by a Doctor of Physick in Queen Elizabeths Daye* (London: 1662) (author unknown).
63. Braden, 43.

64. A.C. Hamilton notes how the "final gruesome banquet is prepared for by the whole play," in *"Titus Andronicus:* The Form of Shakespearean Tragedy," in Kolin, 144.
65. Essential to this reading is the pharmacological recommendation that "the *Cranium* is found by Experience to be good for Diseases of the Head," in Robert James, *Pharmacopoeia Universalis: or, A New Universal English Dispensatory.* (London: 1747): 53.
66. At this moment we can also hear Hamlet's words as he battles the contagion of Denmark: "Now I could drink hot blood" (3.2.390). Ironically, we also witness in *Titus* the performance of a phlebotomy, in which the bad humors, Chiron's and Demitrius's "guilty blood," are released and saved.
67. For example Paracelsus's method for fusing bones: "Take any quantities of bones and burn them into lime. Having done this, carefully pound it. Take of this [a portion]; of quicklime [a portion]. Mix them together in a powder. Afterwards dissolve some bitumen in a moderate quantity of wine, until the whole of it is melted away then place the bones therein, and stir briskly into a thick pulp. Afterwards pour into a mould made of paper," in Waith, "The Metamorphosis of Violence in *Titus Andronicus*," *Titus Andronicus: Critical Essays*, ed. Philip C. Kolin, 1.365. See also Samuel Johnson's definition, 3.
68. Webster, *White Devil,* 2.1.280–284.
69. It had become customary to provide a dinner after the demonstrations as it was considered exhausting either to give or to listen to the lecture. These dinners tended to become larger, more elaborate and costly, and from time to time restrictions were introduced. See Young, 334.
70. It comes as no surprise then that we see a rhetorical slippage of the term *mummy* into cookery: "It must be very thick and dry, and the rice not boiled to mummy." From Mrs. Glasse, *Cookery,* 1733, 152, quoted in Dawson, 38.
71. James, *Pharmacopoeia Universalis*, 512.
72. Kyd, 3.13.139–140.
73. Stephen Greenblatt, *Will in the World* (New York: W.W. Norton & Company, 2004) 180.
74. Valerie Forman, *Tragicomic Redemptions: Global Economics and the Early Modern English Stage* (Philadelphia: University of Pennsylvania Press, 2008) 1.
75. Forman, 1.

3 Flesh Economies in Foreign Worlds: *The Unfortunate Traveller* and *The Sea Voyage*

1. S.S., *The Honest Lawyer* (London: 1616) 3.28.30.
2. John Webster, *The Duchess of Malfi,* ed. David Gunby, David Carnegie, and Antony Hammond (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1995) 5.2.69–71.

3. Karl Marx, *Capital: A Critique of Political Economy* (New York: International Publishers, 1967) 41–2.
4. I.M. Lewis, *Religion in Context: Cults and Charisma,* 2nd ed. (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1996) 89.
5. Peter Hulme argues similarly that the term *cannibalism* flourishes in the "metaphorical hinterland" of "appetite, consumption, body politic, kinship, incorporation, communion," in *Cannibalism and the Colonial World* (London: Methuen, 1986) 4–5.
6. Thomas Nashe, *The Unfortunate Traveller, An Anthology of Elizabethan Prose Fiction,* ed. Paul Salzman (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 1998); John Fletcher and Philip Massinger, *The Sea Voyage*, *The Dramatic Works in the Beaumont and Fletcher Canon,* gen. ed. Fredson Bowers, vol. IX (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1994). Parenthetical referencing will be used for all references to *The Unfortunate Traveller* and *The Sea Voyage*. All other texts will appear as endnote references.
7. Hans Staden, *Hans Staden: The True Story of His Captivity 1557,* reprint edition (New York: Routledge, 2004); André Thevet, *The new found worlde or Antarctike* (Amsterdam: Theatrum Orbis Terrarum; New York: Da Capo Press, 1971); and Jean de Léry, *History of a Voyage to the Land of Brazil,* trans. Janet Whatley (Berkeley: University of California Press, 1990). The popularity of Montaigne's *Essays* and their influence on early modern English writers such as Shakespeare, Fletcher, and Bacon is well documented.
8. Michel de Montaigne, *Essays*, trans. J.M. Cohen (London: Penguin Books: 1958) 105.
9. Frank Lestringant, *Cannibals: The Discovery and Representation of the Cannibal from Columbus to Jules Verne* (Berkeley: University of California Press, 1997) 110–111.
10. Montaigne, 114.
11. Montaigne, 113.
12. Montaigne's concerns here also highlight another strand of the European discourse of cannibalism circulating in the age, which I discuss in detail in the next chapter: the harrowing controversies over the Eucharist and transubstantiation to which the cannibal metaphor is central. As I show, the religious reformists' construction of Catholics as savage cannibals was fuelled by events such as the French religious wars.
13. Crystal Bartolovich, "The Cultural Logic of Late Cannibalism," in Barker *et al,* 213–214.
14. Montaigne, 119. While of course Montaigne describes French society, the cannibalistic metaphor proves apt for figuring the society to which many English writers responded.
15. This quotation also appears in the introduction.
16. See my discussion of this passage in chapter 1. Also, see Richard Sugg's discussion of mummy as a commodity in " 'Good Physic but

Bad Food': Early Modern Attitudes to Medicinal Cannibalism and Suppliers," *Social History of Medicine* 19:2 (2006): 234–236.

17. Scheper-Hughes, *Commodifying Bodies* (London: Sage Publications, 2002) 1–5.
18. For a careful discussion of exactly what constituted the early modern medical marketplace, see Mark S.R. Jenner and Patrick Wallis, eds., *Medicine and the Market in England and its Colonies, c.1450–c.1850* (Basingstoke: Palgrave Macmillan, 2007) 1–24.
19. Jenner and Wallis note that regulation had little effect in demarcating the boundaries of medical roles, 1–2.
20. Wendy Wall makes a similar point when she argues, "It seems likely that human remains visibly circulated in the early modern world," in *Staging Domesticity: Household Work and English Identity in Early Modern Drama* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2002) 197.
21. Arjun Appadurai, *The Social Life of Things: Commodities in Cultural Perspective* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1988) 14–15.
22. Derek Roper, introduction to John Ford, *'Tis Pity She's a Whore,* Revels Student Editions, ed. Derek Roper (Manchester: Manchester University Press, 1997) 3–4.
23. Roper, 5.6.23–73.
24. Lorna Hutson, *Thomas Nashe in Context* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 1989) 15.
25. Nashe, 269.
26. Forman, 2, 7.
27. Hutson, *Nashe in Context.*
28. Forman, 7.
29. Deborah Burks, *Horrid Spectacle: Violation in the Theater of Early Modern England* (Pittsburgh: Duquesne University Press, 2003) 13.
30. Naomi Conn Liebler, ed., *Early Modern Prose Fiction: The Cultural Politics of Reading* (New York: Routledge, 2007) 1–2. Liebler acknowledges Goran Stanivukovic as her source here.
31. Liebler, 3.
32. Steve Mentz, "Day Labor: Thomas Nashe and the Practice of Prose in Early Modern England," in Leibler, *Early Modern Prose* Fiction, 23–24.
33. Zachary Lesser, "Tragical-Comical-Pastoral-Colonial: Economic Sovereignty, Globalization, and the Form of Tragicomedy," *ELH* 74 (2007) 882–883.
34. Forman, 1.
35. Frank Whigham, *Seizures of the Will in Early Modern English Drama* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1996) 18. Burk's also discusses this passage in her argument for the "political function of the stage within the daily intercourse of the English nation," 29.
36. Burks, 29.
37. de Léry, 132.

38. Maggie Kilgour, "The Function of Cannibalism at the Present Time," in Barker *et al*, 239.
39. Ambroise Paré, *Ouvres Completes,* 3 vols. (Paris, 1840–1841) III: 481, paraphrased in Dannenfeldt, 170.
40. See, for example, Obeyesekere, 630–655.
41. Note the notorious case of Elizabeth's Jewish physician Dr. Lopez who was tried and executed on the charge of plotting to poison the Queen. See Harris, *Foreign Bodies,* 83 and James Shapiro, *Shakespeare and the Jews* (New York: Columbia University Press, 1996) 73. In addition, tales of European travelers record other examples of the supposedly fraudulent practices of Jewish merchants, such as John Ray's observation that, "After all it is vain to think to have pure Civet, for the Jews falsifie it," in *A Collection of Curious Travels and Voyages in Two Tomes* (London, 1693) 178.
42. Shapiro, 91.
43. Dannenfeldt, 170.
44. Shapiro, *Shakespeare and the Jews* (New York: Columbia University Press, 1996) 111. Shapiro offers a fascinating mapping of Elizabethan notions of Jewish criminality, 89–113.
45. This is also clearly an ironic reference to the dainty Catholic mouths that eat the real body of Christ in the Eucharist.
46. Edward Reichman, "The Impact of Medieval Medicine on Medical *Halachah: Mumia*," in *Pioneers in Jewish Medical Ethics,* ed. Fred Rosner (Northvale: Jason Aronson Inc., 1997) 36.
47. This begins with the pun on "page" and the association of the page with lies. See Margaret Ferguson, "Nashe's *Unfortunate Traveller:* The 'Newes of the Maker Game,'" *English Literary Renaissance,* 11.2 (1981): 165–182.
48. Barker, 190. As discussed elsewhere in this book, Barker's historical study of the number of people executed during the period of Elizabethan and Stuart power is an excellent example of the violence in which early modern English culture was implicated, 169–190.
49. For a creative discussion of the popular myth of the Jewish physician as poisoner, see Harris, *Foreign Bodies,* 79–107.
50. Mathew Martin, "Jack Wilton and the Jews: the Ambivalence of Anti-Semitism in Nashe's *The Unfortunate Traveller,*" *The Mysterious and the Foreign in Early Modern England*, eds. Helen Ostovich, Mary V. Silcox, and Graham Roebuck (Newark: University of Delaware Press, 2008) 97.
51. See, for example, Alexander Leggett, "Artistic Coherence in the Unfortunate Traveller," *Studies in English Literature* 14:1 (1974): 31–46; Raymond Stephanson, "The Epistemological Challenge of Nashe's *The Unfortunate Traveller,*" *Studies in English Literature* 23:1 (1983): 21–36; Louise Simons, "Rerouting *The Unfortunate Traveller:* Strategies for Coherence and Direction," *Studies in English Literature* 28:1 (1988): 17–38.

52. Ann Rosalind Jones, "Inside the Outsider: Nashe's Unfortunate Traveller and Bakhtin's Polyphonic Novel," *ELH* 50:1 (1983): 61–81.
53. Here I disagree with Laura Scavuzzo Wheeler, who itemizes the pejorative stereotypes of the cultural Other on which Jack draws but does not see the text as destabilizing these in any way. See "The Development of an Englishman: Thomas Nashe's *The Unfortunate Traveller,*" *Historicizing Christian Encounters with the Other* (London: Macmillan Press, 1998) 56–74.
54. It is worth pointing out here that traditional Jewish law prohibits embalming and dissection.
55. Shapiro explains that this may be due in part to the polysemic nature of the Hebrew word for lending at interest, *neshech,* which also means "to bite," 110.
56. Shapiro, 104–105.
57. Shapiro describes Maria Edgeworth's novel *Harrington* in his discussion of the effect such stories had on the "English psyche." In the loneliness of his bedroom, the child Harrington "saw faces around me grinning, glaring, receding, advancing, all turning at last into one and the same face of the Jew with the long beard, and the terrible eyes, and that bag in which I fancied were mangled limbs of children," 89–90.
58. The desire for unblemished bodies for dissections has a long history. For example, in 1391 it was decreed that the town authorities supply the University of Lérida with the clear corpse of a criminal who had been forcibly submerged in water. See Theodor Puschmann, *A History of Medical Education from the Most Remote to the Most Recent Times,* trans. Evan H. Hare (London, 1891) 247.
59. See Leggatt for a discussion of how a fascination with the vulnerability of human flesh pervades Nashe's text.
60. Stowe writes that "after hee was dead to all mens thinking, cut downe, stripped of his apparel, laide naked in a chest, throwne into a carre, and so brought from the place of execution through the Borough of Southwarke over the bridge, and through the citie of London to the Chirurgeons Hall nere unto cripplegate: the chest being there opened, and the weather extreme cold hee was found to be alive, and lived till the three and twentie of Februarie, and then died." Quoted in Jonathan Sawday, *The Body Emblazoned: Dissections and the Human Body in Renaissance Culture* (London: Routledge, 1995) 61.
61. Helkiah Crooke, *Microkosmografia: A Description of the Body of Man, 1615* (London, 1863) 18.
62. Andrew Fleck points out that throughout *The Unfortunate Traveller,* Nashe "tests the limits of bodies and embodiment . . . tracing the limits of bodies, their boundaries and functions, and the meanings ascribed to or inscribed within them." In "Anatomizing the Body

Politic: The Nation and the Renaissance Body in Thomas Nashe's *The Unfortunate Traveller,*" *Modern Philology* 104.3 (2007): 305.

63. Robert J. Dvorchak and Lisa Holewa, *Milwaukee Massacre: Jeffrey Dahmer and the Milwaukee Murders* (New York: Dell, 1991) 7–8.
64. Luke Harding, "Victim of cannibal agreed to be eaten," *The Guardian,* December 4, 2003, 5, http://www.guardian.co.uk/world/2003/dec/04/germany.lukeharding, accessed August 2008.
65. Rudolph Egg, quoted in Peter Fray, "Secret World of the Suburban Cannibal," *The Age,* January 15, 2004, http://www.theage.com.au/articles/2004/01/14/1073877901829.html accessed January 20, 2009.
66. Oswald Croll, *Bazilica Chymica and Praxis Chymiatricae or Royal and Practical Chymistry 1609,* trans. John Hartman (London, 1670) 156.
67. Thomas Nashe, *The Terrors of the Night or A Discourse of Apparitions*, *Thomas Nashe*, ed. Stanley Wells (Cambridge: Harvard University Press, 1965).
68. Nashe, *Terrors,* 147 and 154.
69. "Jackanapes," *The Oxford English Dictionary*, vol. 11, C, 1961 ed.
70. In *The Terrors of the Night*, Nashe also refers to "a crafty Jack-a-both-sides," 161.
71. Quoted in Shapiro, 116. Shapiro describes such reports as having "sodomitical overtones," 116.
72. The term *pierce* was frequently used to describe sexual intercourse, and "instrument," "knife," and "blade" were common terms for the penis. See Barry Reay's fascinating catalogue of sexual metaphors in *Popular Cultures in England: 1550–1750* (London: Longman, 1998) 19.
73. Croll, 156
74. Sawday, 49.
75. In his discussion of these words, Sawday also identifies the "sexual frisson—a hint of transgressive desire—in Jack's dissection fears," 49.
76. Note the connection to the idea of Lavinia as a sliced loaf: both food and sexual object. Also, in *The Merchant of Venice*, Shylock seeks his forfeit of flesh to be sliced from Antonio's breast. See Shapiro for an analysis of stories of Jewish circumcision and their implications for *The Merchant of Venice,* 113–130. Shapiro argues that the biblical metaphorics of circumcising the heart underpin Shylock's decision: "Circumcise the foreskin of your heart," and "The Lord thy God will circumcise thine heart," 127.
77. In fact, none of the threats made by Jews in the text eventuate; instead, the Jewish characters are punished and dispensed with within the narrative.
78. Nashe, *Terrors*, 160–161.
79. Nashe, *Terrors,* 160–161.

80. See Martin, "Jack Wilton and the Jews: The Ambivalence of Anti-Semitism in Nashe's *The Unfortunate Traveller,*" *The Mysterious and the Foreign in Early Modern England,* ed. Helen Ostovich, Mary V. Silcox, and Graham Roebuck. (Newark: University of Delaware Press, 2008) for a discussion of the implications of rejections of Jewishness for attempts to define Englishness.
81. Harris, *Sick Economies: Drama, Mercantilism, and Disease in Shakespeare's England* (Philadelphia: University of Pensylvania Press, 2004) 9.
82. The term is from Scheper-Hughes, *Commodifying Bodies,* 1. For an interesting discussion of economies as a form of social relationship, see Waldby and Mitchell, 33.
83. Robert Daborn, *A Christian turn'd Turke: or, The Tragicall Lives and Deaths of the two Famous Pyrates, Ward and Dansiker* (London: 1612).
84. The ballad of "the lamentable shipwreck of the brig *George,*" in A.W. Brian Simpson, *Cannibalism and the Common Law: the Story of the Tragic Last Voyage of the Mignonette and the Strange Legal Proceedings* (Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 1985) 117.
85. Lesser, 897. In his article, Lesser draws on the works of Gerard de Malynes, Thomas Mun, and Edward Misselden to show how the play engages in the debates in which these texts took part, over the early modern economy dealing with England's place in the emerging global economy and the power of the monarch in the economy. For a broader analysis, see also Harris's study of the language of disease in these debates in *Sick Economies.*
86. For expediency, I use the term *gallants* to describe the three would-be gentlemen, Lamure, Franville, and Morillat. Anthony Parr notes that these characters are "modeled on the younger sons of minor gentry who hoped to find in the colonies the wealth and status denied them at home," in *Three Renaissance Travel Plays,* ed. Anthony Parr (Manchester: Manchester University Press, 1995) 21.
87. Lesser, 902.
88. "Carver," *Oxford English Dictionary,* 1961.
89. I am not arguing here that meat is not in itself an exchangeable commodity; rather that, in the play's climate of starvation, meat usurps the precious commodity status of gold.
90. Simpson, 227.
91. Furthermore, the desire to eat Aminta is indebted to the scene in Book VI of Spenser's *The Faerie Queene* in which, in an allegory of the Catholic Eucharist, the "salvage nation" cannibals drool over the sleeping figure of Serena, fantasizing her as meat, 6.8.38.
92. Harris, *Sick Economies,* 167.
93. In general there is much in this play that supports Max Weber's argument, in *The Protestant Ethic and the Spirit of Capitalism* (Chicago: Roxbury Publishing, 2001) for the relationship between religious and

economic change; in particular, the play's critique of excessive consumption and the anti-Catholic imagery engages with Reformists' condemnations of the Catholic Church's accumulation of riches and squandering habits.

94. Lesser here is discussing the position of Gerard de Malynes and Thomas Milles, 884.
95. Richard Crashaw, "On the Wounds of Our Crucified Lord," *The Norton Anthology of English Literature: The Sixteenth Century, The Early Seventeenth Century*, gen. ed. M.H. Abrams, vol. 1B (New York: W.W. Norton & Co., 2000) 1634.
96. Kristeva, "Holbein's Dead Christ," in Feher, 257.
97. Andrew B. Appleby, "Diet in Sixteenth Century England: Sources, Problems, Possibilities," *Health, Medicine and Mortality in the Sixteenth Century,* ed., Charles Webster (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1979) 97.
98. Harris, *Sick Economies,* 7.

4 Divine Matter and the Cannibal Dilemma: *The Faerie Queene* and *Devotions Upon Emergent Occasions*

1. Daniel Featley, *The Grand Sacrilege of the Church of Rome* (London: 1630) 293.
2. Piero Camporesi, "The Consecrated Host: A Wondrous Excess," *Fragments for a History of the Human Body*, vol. 1, ed. Michel Feher (New York: Zone, 1989) 221.
3. Roger L'Estrange, *The committee; or popery in masquerade* (London: 1680).
4. Reproduced here from Walter L. Strauss, *The German single-leaf woodcut, 1550–1600,* vol. 3 (New York: Hackner Art Books, 1975) 1184. Ole Peter Grell and Andrew Cunningham also discuss this image for its powerful connection between religion and medicine; however, the focus of their study is quite different from my own. See *Medicine and the Reformation* (London: Routledge, 1993) 2–3.
5. See Grell and Cunningham's identification of the participants and the smaller scenes depicted in the broadsheet, 2–3.
6. Grell and Cunningham, 2.
7. All biblical citations are from *The Holy Bible,* King James Version (Grand Rapids: World Publishing).
8. Julia Kristeva, *Powers of Horror: An Essay on Abjection* (New York: Columbia University Press, 1982) 2.
9. John Donne, *Deaths Duell*, *John Donne Selected Prose,* ed. Helen Gardner and Timothy Healy (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 1967) 382.

10. John Schroder, *The Compleate Chymical Dispensatory, in Five Books*, trans. William Rowland (London, 1669) 506.
11. The doctrine of transubstantiation and its terminology became dogma at the Fourth Lateran Council in 1215, which resolved that, upon the priest's words, the Eucharistic substance, the bread and wine, would be transformed into the flesh and blood of Christ, but the accidents, the appearance of bread and wine, would remain the same. See Darwell Stone, *A History of the Doctrine of the Holy Eucharist,* 2 vols. (London: Longmans, Green, and Co. 1909) 1.313. See also, Preserved Smith, *A Short History of Christian Theophagy* (Chicago: Open Court Publishing Company, 1922) 85; Jaroslav Pelikan, *Reformation of Church and Dogma (1300–1700)* (Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 1984) 193.
12. Quoted in Camporesi, "Consecrated Host," 221, from P. Clemente Simoncelli, *Guida de morabundi* (Naples: Tomasi, 1962) 120.
13. The words are Ignatius's, quoted in James T. O'Connor, *The Hidden Manna: A Theology of the Eucharist* (San Francisco: Ignatius Press, 1988) 17. For my understanding of the complicated theology of the Catholic Eucharist I draw on O'Connor, Pelikan, and Stone, as well as Dom Gregory Dix, *The Shape of the Liturgy* (London: Dacre Press, 1945); Robert Sokolowski, *Eucharistic Presence: A Study in the Theology of Disclosure* (Washington: Catholic University of America Press, 1993); Miri Rubin, *Corpus Christi: The Eucharist in Late Medieval Culture* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1991).
14. William Ian Miller, *The Anatomy of Disgust* (Cambridge: Harvard University Press, 1997) 156.
15. Camporesi, "Consecrated Host," 221.
16. Quoted in Camporesi, "Consecrated Host," 221.
17. Hymen Saye, "Holy Wafers in Medicine," *Bulletin of the History of Medicine* 3 (1935): 165–167.
18. Rubin, 43–44.
19. Thomas Becon, *Prayers and Other Pieces,* The Parker Society, vol. 19 (Cambridge, 1844) 372.
20. Keith Thomas, *Religion and the Decline of Magic* (New York: Scribner, 1971) 52.
21. Maggie Kilgour, *From Communion to Cannibalism: An Anatomy of Metaphors of Incorporation,* (Princeton: Princeton University Press, 1990) 82–83. See also Kilgour's discussion of the Catholics as cannibals, 83–84.
22. For a discussion of the fluctuations of interest in Paracelsian medicine in England, see P.M. Rattansi, "Paracelsus and the Puritan Revolution," *Ambix* 11 (1963): 24–32; Allen G. Debus, *The English Paracelsians* (London: Oldbourne, 1965).
23. Debora Kuller Shuger, *Habits of Thought in the English Renaissance: Religion, Politics, and the Dominant Culture* (Berkeley: University of California Press, 1990) 9.

24. See Urdang's introduction to *Pharmacopoeia Londinensis of 1618,* 32; also Allen G. Debus, *The English Paracelsians* (London: Oldbourne, 1965) 58.
25. John Webster, *Academicarum Examen* (London, 1654) 73. Quoted in C. Webster, "English Medical Reformers of the Puritan Revolution: A Background to the 'Society of Chymical Physitians,'" *Ambix* 14 (1967): 16–41, 18.
26. Rubin writes, "The most concentrated, heated and violent attention was paid to the Eucharist in the religious contests of the sixteenth century, as symbolic worlds clashed, as people strove to discredit and annihilate the worldview of their adversaries," *354.*
27. Nicholas Culpeper, *A Physicall Directory, or, A translation of the London Dispensatory* (London, 1649). Quoted in Webster, 18.
28. Webster, 26. Rattansi also argues that the history of Paracelsian medicine in England cannot be separated from religious and political history, 24–32, 25.
29. See Webster, "Paracelsus: medicine as popular protest," in Grell and Cunningham, 57–78.
30. Robert Burton, *The Anatomy of Melancholy*, vol. 2 (Whitefish: Kessinger Publishing, 2002) 588.
31. Debus, 58–61. Debus is quoting from R. Bostocke, *The difference between the auncient Phisicke…and the latter Phisicke* (London, 1585). The official *Pharmacopoeia Londinensis of 1618* also reflects this desire for the Hippocratic simplicity Paracelsian doctrine offered as an alternative to the confusing polypharmacy of Galenic medicine, indicating that the spheres of medical influence in England were open to Paracelsian medicine. See Urdang's introduction to the *Pharmacopoeia Londinensis,* 32.
32. See Rubin for a discussion of the early debate on the nature of the Eucharist in terms of substance and accidents, 24–25. Also, for an excellent discussion of the transubstantiation debate, see Anthony Milton, *Catholic and Reformed: The Roman and Protestant Churches in English Protestant Thought, 1600–1640* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1995) 196–205.
33. Myles Coverdale, *Writings and Translations of Myles Coverdale, Bishop of Exeter,* ed. Rev. George Pearson, The Parker Society Ser. 10 (Cambridge, 1844) 450.
34. Peter Hulme, *Colonial Encounters: Europe and the Native Caribbean, 1492–1797* (London: Methuen, 1986) 84–85. Also cited in Kilgour, 265.
35. Stone, I. 20.
36. Dom Gregory Dix, *The Shape of the Liturgy* (London: Dacre Press, 1945) 76. Dix argues that this meal was probably not the Passover supper, but a Jewish religious evening meal that took place twenty-four hours before Passover: probably the formal supper of a *chabûrah*, a group of close friends, 50. Stephen Greenblatt,

also drawing on Dix, makes this point as well, in Gallagher and Greenblatt, 139.

37. 1 Corinthians 11:24–25.
38. See Dix for a comprehensive discussion of the meaning of Christ's words in the context of the *chabûrah* supper, 50–78.
39. Elaine Scarry, *The Body in Pain: The Making and the Unmaking of the World* (New York: Oxford University Press, 1985) 216.
40. For a fascinating discussion of language and the Eucharist; of the utterances, signs, and representations that surround the mystery of the Eucharist; and the miracle of transubstantiation; see Louis Marin, *Food for Thought*, trans. Mette Hjort (Baltimore: Johns Hopkins University Press, 1989).
41. Rubin, 42.
42. St. Thomas Aquinas, *Summa Theolagiae III* 78 3 ad 1, quoted in Sokolowski, 98–99 , n. 19.
43. O'Connor, 291.
44. John 6:53–54.
45. O'Connor, 274.
46. Tertullian, *De Resurrectione Mortuorum,* VIII, 2; CCSL, 2, 931. Quoted in O'Connor, 270.
47. Rubin, 28.
48. Camporesi, "The Consecrated Host," 229.
49. Gallagher and Greenblatt, 141.
50. See Pelikan for a comprehensive discussion of the different theological positions adopted by Reformers, esp. 187–203.
51. Pelikan, 200–201.
52. Pelikan, 201.
53. Quoted in Jeffrey Johnson, *The Theology of John Donne,* Studies in Renaissance Literature, vol. 1 (Cambridge: D.S. Brewer, 1999).
54. Thomas Cranmer, quoted in Malcolm Mackenzie Ross, *Poetry and Dogma: The Transfiguration of Eucharistic Symbols in Seventeenth Century English Poetry* (New York: Octagon Books, 1969) 56.
55. Pelikan, 201.
56. Dix, 623–624.
57. Rubin, 13.
58. Dix, 623–624.
59. See Miller, xi.
60. See Anthony Milton, 173–176.
61. C.T. Onions, *Shakespeare's England: An Account of the Life and Manners of His Age* (Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1916) 55.
62. Natalie Zemon Davis, *Society and Culture in Early Modern France* (Stanford: Stanford University Press, 1975) 179. Davis notes that bodies were thrown to dogs and body parts were sold as meat (liver and tripe) in various towns. And, in what constitutes an aspect of the medical corpse market, in Lyon in 1572 "an apothecary rendered fat from Protestant corpses and sold it at 3 blancs the pound," 324, n.

100. See also Claude Rawson's discussion of these events, and their memorialization in the work of Montaigne and Agrippa d'Aubigné, in "'Indians' and Irish: Montaigne, Swift, and the Cannibal Question," *Modern Language Quarterly* 53.3 (1992): 299–365.

63. Frank Ardolino, "In Paris? Mass and Well Remembered!": Kyd's *The Spanish Tragedy* and the English Reaction to the St. Martholomew's Day Massacre," *Sixteenth Century Journal* 21.3 (1990) 402; Kyd, *The Spanish Tragedy,* 4.1.164–169.
64. Becon, *Prayers,* 369.
65. Thomas Becon, *The Early Works of Thomas Becon*, The Parker Society Ser. vol. 10 (New York: Johnson Reprint, 1968) 418.
66. From Wyclif's *Elucidarium 25*: (c. 1400). Quoted in Miller, 156.
67. Karen Gordon-Grube, "Evidence of Medicinal Cannibalism in Puritan New England: 'Mummy' and Related Remedies in Edward Taylor's 'Dispensatory,'" *Early American Literature* 28.3 (1993): 207.
68. See Peter Hulme for a discussion of how the discourse of savagery has constituted "otherness" historically, *Colonial Encounters*, 21.
69. In his deconstruction of the cultural fantasy of the existence of a clandestine, anti-human society, Norman Cohn traces the roots of such a fantasy from the stereotype of Christians as a conspiratorial organization that practiced such atrocities as infanticide, incest, and cannibalism, in *Europe's Inner Demons: The Demonization of Christians in Medieval Christendom* (London: Pimlico, 1993) chapter 1.
70. Quoted in Cohn, 8. For a detailed description of the decisions of the Council of Trent (1545–1563) as they relate to the Eucharist see Stone, vol. 2, 86–100
71. Paraphrased in Carolyn Walker Bynum, *The Resurrection of the Body in Western Christianity, 200–1336* (New York: Columbia University Press, 1995) 41.
72. Pelikan, 54.
73. For a discussion of Berengar's contribution to the debate, see Rubin, 16–20.
74. Quoted in Rubin, 19–21.
75. See Pelikan, 199–200.
76. Anti-papal writings in general were a major feature of English Protestant discourse. Anthony Milton notes that in the pamphlet controversies between the Church of England and Rome over 500 works, by approximately 150 different authors, were published between 1605 and 1625, 31–32.
77. See Guibbory for a discussion of Puritan resistance to Roman Catholicism, in *Ceremony and Community from Herbert to Milton: Literature, Religion, and Cultural Conflict in Seventeenth-Century England* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1998) 35–37. John Milton, *On Christian Doctrine*, 1.28, in *The Complete Works of John Milton*, ed. William Alfred *et al.* (New Haven: Yale University Press, 1973) 6.553–554. Also quoted in Kilgour, 84.

78. Rubin, 359.
79. Becon, *Prayers*, 261.
80. Rubin, 328, is quoting from *Heresy Trials of Norwich*, 44–55.
81. Milton, 6.553–554. Also quoted in Kilgour, 84.
82. Thomas Turke, *The Holy Eucharist and the Popish Breaden God,* quoted in Ross, 77.
83. Becon, *Prayers*, 370.
84. Dix, 615.
85. Dix, 1.
86. Dix, 622.
87. See Dix for a discussion of the form of the Eucharist in the Reformation, 615–625. See also Peter Marshall, *The Catholic Priesthood and the English Reformation* (Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1994) for a discussion of the role of the celebrant, 35–85.
88. Becon, *Prayers*, 358–364.
89. Guibbory notes, "With the Protestant Reformation, fear of seduction to the whoredom of idolatry gained new currency as the Church of Rome was identified with the Whore of Babylon," 166. As Harris argues, since the Reformation, English writers frequently employed the figure of the Whore of Babylon as an image of the Catholic Church, *Foreign Bodies,* 64. See, for example, Thomas Dekker's *The Whore of Babylon*, *The Dramatic Works of Thomas Dekker,* 5 vols., ed. Fredson Bowers (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1953).
90. Anthony Milton offers a useful discussion of the pope as Antichrist, 93–127.
91. Guibbory, 35.
92. Edmund Spenser, *The Faerie Queene,* ed. Thomas P. Roche, Jr. (London: Penguin, 1987). John Donne, *Devotions Upon Emergent Occasions,* ed. Anthony Raspa (Montreal: McGill-Queen's University Press, 1975). Parenthetical referencing will be used for all references to *The Faerie Queene* and *Devotions Upon Emergent Occasions.* All other texts will appear as endnote references.
93. Edmund Spenser, *The Faerie Queene*, ed. Thomas P. Roche Jr. (London: Penguin, 1987) 5.8.38. All following quotes from this work will be referenced parenthetically in the text.
94. Peggy Reeves Sanday, *Divine Hunger: Cannibalism as a Cultural System* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press) xii.
95. Richard Mallette, *Spenser and the Discourses of Reformation England* (Lincoln: University of Nebraska Press, 1997) 6.
96. Jeffrey Knapp, in his excellent discussion of the imperialist mission of the Errour episode, also identifies Errour as a chimera, in "Error as a Means of Empire in *The Faerie Queene* 1," *ELH* 54:4 (1987): 805. Frank Lestringant, *Cannibal: The Discovery and Representation of the Cannibal from Columbus to Jules Verne* (Berkeley: University of California Press, 1997) 161.

97. I acknowledge a debt to Jonathan Dollimore for this idea. In a section titled, "Here be dragons," Dollimore identifies the space of a gay underworld, a fearful yet fascinating, promiscuous location that uncannily echoes the aura of Errour's cave, in *Death, Desire and Loss in Western Culture* (New York: Routledge, 2001) 296.
98. The description of Errour as half-serpent, and her serpent brood, suggests a popular anti-papal iconography of the Antichrist in serpent form. Spenser's image is similar to a broadside picture of approximately 1624, "The Popes Pyramides," which depicts a pyramid of entangled, smaller serpents coiled around a large serpent. The smaller serpents wear monks' tonsures and cardinals' hats and the words of sin, such as "Cruelty," "Rebellion," "Envie." come from their mouths. Part of the caption describes the picture as "A *Pyramis*, of Serpents poysonous broode; / (*Rome,*) here behold, erected is on high / Upon heaven hills, where once thy glory stood / Sad Monument of thy Impietie." In Tessa Watt, *Cheap Print and Popular Piety 1550–1640* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1991) 156.
99. Revelation 17:2. Mallette makes a similar point in his discussion of Duessa, 157.
100. Arthur Dent, *The Ruine of Rome* (London, 1603) 254. Quoted in Mallette, 148.
101. J. Rhodes, "An Answere to a Romish Rime," *Select Poetry Chiefly Devotional of the Reign of Queen Elizabeth,* The Parker Society (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1865).
102. Thomas Beard, *Antichrist the Pope of Rome* (London, 1625). Quoted in Anthony Milton, 98.
103. Becon, *Prayers*, 361 and 375.
104. Edmund Spenser, *A View of the Present State of Ireland* (Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1970) 85.
105. Caroline Walker Bynum, "The Female Body and Religious Practice in the Later Middle Ages," *Fragments for a History of the Human Body*, ed. Michel Feher. Vol. 1. (New York: Zone, 1989) 176 and 185. See also Paster's use of Bynum in *The Body,* 107–108.
106. Richard Crashaw, *Sospetto D'Herode. The Complete Poetry of Richard Crashaw,* The Stuart Editions, ed. George Walton Williams (New York: New York University Press, 1972). Quoted in Richard Rambuss, *Closet Devotions* (Durham: Duke University Press, 1998) 33. See Rambuss for an insightful discussion of the masculine homoerotic implications of poetic representations of feeding from Christ. John Donne, *Deaths Duell,* in *Selected Prose,* 392.
107. See Harris for a discussion of the Paracelsian doctrine of poison, in *Foreign Bodies,* 51–52. As Harris argues, "The curative power of poisons . . . is implicitly inscribed in—if not derived from—the many European languages in which the words for "medicine" and "poi-

son" are interchangeable: amongst them, Greek (*pharmakon*); Latin (*medicamentus*); old German (*das Gift*)."

108. John Donne, "Devotion 20," 108.
109. Coverdale, 453; Becon, *Prayers*, 377, 379. Curiously, there is also an echo here of Becon's urges to Protestant clergy to "suck out venom" from the breasts of parishioners who have absorbed the "wicked doctrine" of Catholicism, *Prayers*, 291.
110. Donne, *Death's Duel*, 376.
111. Guibbory, 167.
112. Rhodes, "An Answere to a Romish Rime."
113. Similar language is used in Canto 11 when the undigested food in the Dragon's mouth is described as "...trickling blood and gobbets raw / Of late devoured bodies..." (11.13).
114. Camporesi, "The Consecrated Host," 233. Also, it is curious to note the difference between this anti-papal polemic of disgust and the euphoric medieval description of the passage of Christ's body through the communicant: "...when He passes through the soul which receives Him corporeally, [he] leave[s] in it a kind of balsam and very agreeable scents, certain signs that He was there." Quoted in Camporesi, "Consecrated Host," 223. Camporesi is quoting from Giovanni Battista Sangiure, S.J., *Erario della vita Cristiana e religiosa*.
115. See Marshall for a discussion of situations in which priests could deny the sacrament, 185–188.
116. For example this is the gloss given in *Norton,* 633.
117. "And I saw three unclean spirits, like frogs come out of the mouth of the dragon, and out of the mouth of the beast, and out of the mouth of the false prophet." Also glossed in *Norton,* 633.
118. Becon, *Prayers*, 377.
119. Becon, *Prayers*, 389.
120. Becon, *Prayers*, 389–390.
121. John Bridges, "A Sermon Preached at Paules Crosse" (1571) 126. Quoted in Gallagher and Greenblatt, 154.
122. Edmund Spenser, *A View of the Present State of Ireland* (Oxford: Clarendon, 1970) 62. The Scythians were thought to have been cannibals as we see in Lear's words: "The barbarous Scythian, / Or he that makes his generation messes / To gorge his appetite...." in *King Lear,* 1.1.116–118. Note here also the resemblance between the mother feeding on her executed son's body and the executed body as a medical ingredient.
123. Crashaw, "Luke II. Blessed be the paps which Thou has sucked," *The Complete Poetry.*
124. See Merrall Llewelyn Price for a discussion of how the relationship between mother and child is frequently manifested in episodes of cannibalistic consumptions, in *Consuming Passions: The Uses of*

Cannibalism in Late Medieval and Early Modern Europe (New York: Routledge Press, 2003) chapter 4.

125. Revelation 17:4, 6.
126. D. Douglas Waters, *Duessa as Theological Satire* (Columbia: University of Missouri Press, 1970) 65.
127. Harris, *Foreign Bodies*, 64.
128. See also Guibbory, 159. In a sense, Errour anticipates both the Whore of Babylon figure, Duessa, and the Antichrist figure, Orgoglio.
129. In James P. Myers, *Elizabethan Ireland: A Selection of Writings by Elizabethan Writers on Ireland* (Hamden: Archon, 1983) 26.
130. Ivo Kamps and Jyotsna G. Singh, eds., *Travel Knowledge: European "Discoveries" in the Early Modern Period* (New York: Palgrave, 2001) 4.
131. George Herbert, "Love (3)," *Norton,* 1614.
132. Robert Fludd, *Dr Fludd's Answer unto M. Foster* (London: 1631) 27. ST (2nd ed.) / 11120
133. Gordon-Grube makes a similar conjecture: "Perhaps for Protestants of this period, healing with mummy and blood on some level fulfilled a substitute function to that of the transubstantiated flesh and blood," in "Anthropophagy," 408. Also, in the terms of my argument for a residual Protestant hunger for the real body of Christ, see Scott Dudley's study of the residual cultural potency for Protestants of the Catholic belief in the power of the relic, in "Conferring with the Dead: Necrophilia and Nostalgia in the Seventeenth Century," *ELH* 66 (1999): 277–294.
134. Here I draw on Jacques Derrida's notion of the "trace" as explicated by Spivak: "The structure of the sign is determined by the trace or track of that other which is forever absent," in *Of Grammatology*, trans. Gayatri Chakravorty Spivak (Baltimore: Johns Hopkins University Press, 1976) xvii.
135. Grell and Cunningham, 1.
136. Rubin, 337.
137. See Ross's chapter "The Anglican Dilemma" for a discussion of the effect of the Eucharistic controversy on the seventeenth-century poetic symbol.
138. George Herbert, *The Latin Poetry of George Herbert: A Bilingual Edition,* trans. Mark McCloskey and Paul R. Murphy (Athens: Ohio University Press, 1986). Quoted in Rambuss, 37.
139. As Rubin shows, throughout the twelfth century the chalice, the offering of Christ's blood, was removed from lay communion, and, although this practice lingered for a time, it was forbidden at the Council of Constance of 1415, 70–72. By the time of the Reformation, the lay sacrament consisted of bread alone and the drinking of consecrated wine was a sacerdotal privilege, strongly criticized by both Catholics and Protestants.
140. Coverdale, 457.

141. See Louis L. Martz, *The Poetry of Meditation: A Study of English Religious Literature of the Seventeenth Century* (New Haven: Yale University Press, 1954); Anthony Raspa, *The Emotive Image: Jesuit Poetics in the English Renaissance* (Fort Worth: Texas Christian University Press, 1983); Barbara Kiefer Lewalski, *Protestant Poetics and the Seventeenth-Century Religious Lyric* (Princeton: Princeton University Press, 1979); Eleanor McNees, "John Donne and the Anglican Doctrine of the Eucharist," *Texas Studies in Literature and Language* 29 (1987): 94–114.
142. McNees, 94–95.
143. For discussions of Donne's propensity toward multiple points of view, see P.M. Oliver, *Donne's Religious Writing: A Discourse of Feigned Devotion* (London: Longman, 1997) 243–245 and Charles Monroe Coffin, *John Donne and the New Philosophy* (New York: Columbia University Press, 1937). Donne's words here are from *The Sermons of John Donne*, eds. George R. Potter and Evelyn M. Simpson, 10 vols. (Berkeley: University of California Press, 1953–1962) 7:303. Also quoted in Oliver's discussion of Donne's habit of offering a "multiplicity of viewpoints" in his writing, 244.
144. Terry G. Sherwood, *Fulfilling the Circle: A Study of John Donne's Thought* (Toronto: University of Toronto Press) 63. In general, see Sherwood's discussion of the body's role in Donne's world view in chapter 3 of his book.
145. See Don Cameron Allen for a discussion of Donne's extensive medical knowledge and vocabulary, in "John Donne's Knowledge of Renaissance Medicine," *The Journal of English and Germanic Philology* 62 (1943): 322–342.
146. John Donne, *Ignatius His Conclave* in *Selected Prose,* 60. The implication of the medical use of corpses is obvious here. The quotation is from a letter to Sir Thomas Lucey, quoted in Allen, 323. Allen argues that Donne's grudging praise of Paracelsus was unusual in comparison to many of his literary contemporaries who criticized Paracelsus, 323. However, Donne's attitude is consistent with the position of many Protestant physicians who, as I argue, supported Paracelsian medicine.
147. See Allen for discussions of Donne's poetic debt to Paracelsian medicine. Also Thomas Willard, "Donne's Anatomy Lesson: Vesalian or Paracelsian?" *John Donne Journal* 3.1 (1984): 35–61.
148. Jeffrey Johnson discusses Donne as an influential theologian in his own right, 139–147. While Johnson's discussion that Donne's position on the nature of Christ's presence in the sacrament is consistent with the Church of England is convincing, I argue that the examples he gives from the Sermons reveal just as much about Donne's *lack* of any fixed position on this issue.
149. Also quoted in Sherwood, 66.
150. Donne, *Sermons*, 2:305. Also quoted in Jeffrey Johnson, 124.

151. Scheper-Hughes, "Global Traffic" 201.
152. Johnson, drawing on the Sermons, also points out that for Donne, "neither a body alone, nor a soul alone constitutes a person," 124.
153. See Sawday for a discussion of the body/soul duality in Renaissance medicine, 16–22.
154. *Sermons,* 3:221.
155. Camporesi, "The Consecrated Host," 221.
156. Johnson, 142.
157. McNees, 94.
158. Shuger, 190.
159. Shuger, 191. Shuger draws on the work of Joan Riviere, "Hate, Greed, and Aggression," in Joan Riviere and Melanie Klein, *Love, Hate, and Reparation* (New York: Norton, 1964) 8-9.
160. Also quoted in Shuger, 194.
161. McNees, 106.
162. Lewis, 90.

5 THE *FILLE VIÈRGE* AS PHARMAKON: *OTHELLO* AND THE *ANNIVERSARIES*

1. Pietro della Valle, *The Pilgrim: The Travels of Pietro Della Valle*, trans., George Bull (London: Century Hutchinson Ltd., 1990) 59.
2. John Donne, *John Donne Selected Prose*, eds., Helen Gardner and Timothy Healy (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 1967) 11.
3. John Webster, *The White Devil* in *The Works of John Webster*, ed., David Gunby, vol. 1 (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1995) 2.1.245–249.
4. Jean Baptiste de Roquefort, *Des sepultures nationals* (Paris, 1824) 141, quoted in Karl H. Dannenfeldt, "Egyptian Mumia: The Sixteenth Century Experience and Debate," *The Sixteenth Century Journal* 16.2 (1985): 174. No source is quoted for Roquefort, but these historical "facts" often draw uncritically on previously cited opinions and it is conceivable that he draws on della Valle.
5. Paschasius Radbert, *De corpore et sanguine domini,* quoted in Miri Rubin, *Corpus Christi: The Eucharist in Late Medieval Culture* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1991) 15.
6. Gail Kern Paster, *The Body Embarrassed: Drama and the Disciplines of Shame in Early Modern England* (Ithaca: Cornell University Press, 1993) 66.
7. For a discussion of these texts, see Audrey Eccles, *Obstetrics and Gynaecology in Tudor and Stuart England* (London: Croom Helm, 1982). For a discussion of the anatomy of the female body, see Jonathan Sawday, *The Body Emblazoned: Dissections and the Human Body in Renaissance Culture* (London: Routledge, 1995), especially chapter 7.

8. Loughlin provides a fascinating study of the sociomedical and anatomical construction of virginity and its representation in early modern drama in *Hymeneutics: Interpreting Virginity on the Early Modern Stage* (Lewisburg: Bucknell University Press, 1997) 29.
9. Theodore Puschmann, *A History of Medical Education from The Most Remote to the Most Recent Times*, trans., Evan H. Hare (London, 1891) 328.
10. Marie-Christine Pouchelle, *The Body and Surgery in the Middle Ages,* trans., Rosemary Morris (Cambridge: Polity Press, 1990) 82.
11. John Donne, *John Donne: The Complete English Poems,* ed., A.J. Smith (London: Penguin, 1986) 65.
12. William Shakespeare, *Othello,* ed. E.A.J. Honigmann (Surrey: Arden, 1997). *John Donne: The Anniversaries,* ed. Frank Manley, (Baltimore: Johns Hopkins Press, 1963). Parenthetical referencing will be used for all references to *Othello* and *The Anniversaries.* All other texts will appear as endnote references.
13. Again, in an attempt to pin down what is almost inexpressible in Donne, I draw on Derrida's use of the word *trace* in his engagement with Heidegger's concept of the ineffability of Being: "Man in his essence is the memory (memorial) of Being." See Martin Heidegger, *The Question of Being,* trans., William Kluback and Jean T. Wild, bilingual edition (New York: College and University Press Services, 1958) 82–83.
14. In *Chirurgorum Comes: or the Whole Practice of Chirurgery Begun by the Learned Dr Read,* completed by a member of the College of Physicians in London (London, 1687) 709.
15. See Paster for discussions of the greedy nature and dangerous unreliability of the female body, esp. 23–63. Also, for perceptions of the female body as "wantonly open, permeable, and unconfined," see Margaret R. Miles in *Carnal Knowing: Female Nakedness and Religious Meaning in the Christian West* (Boston: Beacon, 1989) 166.
16. The term is from Piero Camporesi, *Juice of Life: the Symbolic and Magic Significance of Blood,* trans., Robert R. Barr (New York: Continuum, 1995) 11.
17. See Nicholas Culpeper, *Culpeper's Complete Herbal: A book of natural remedies for ancient ills: 1653* (Ware: Wordsworth Editions, 1995) esp. 441–447.
18. This confrontation occurs in act 3, scene 4 in the play.
19. For an excellent discussion of the symbolism of the handkerchief, see Linda Boose, "Othello's Handkerchief: 'The Recognizance and Pledge of Love,'" 55–67; also Karen Newman, "'And wash the Ethiop white': Femininity and the Monstrous in *Othello,*" 124–143, esp. 135–138, both in *Critical Essays on Shakespeare's Othello,* ed., Anthony Gerard Barthelemy (New York: G.K. Hall, 1994).

20. John Schroder, *The Compleate Chymical Dispensatory, in Five Books*, trans., William Rowland (London, 1669) 506–521.
21. Linda Boose also makes the connection between the stained bed sheets and the bloody napkin, 56–57.
22. Michael Neill, *John Ford: Critical Re-Visions* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1988) 156–57.
23. Neill, 157.
24. Neill argues that it is precisely the fact that her adultery cannot be seen which seems to prove its existence for Othello, in *Issues of Death: Mortality and Identity in English Renaissance Tragedy* (Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1997) 152.
25. Marie Loughlin outlines the fascinating debate over what she describes as "the veracity of this powerful and pervasive cultural fiction" in *Hymeneutics: Interpreting Virginity on the Early Modern Stage* (Lewisburg: Bucknell University Press, 1997) 30–39.
26. Judith Butler, *Excitable Speech: A Politics of the Performative* (New York: Routledge, 1997) 5.
27. Walter Pagel, *Paracelsus: An Introduction to Philosophical Medicine in the Era of the Renaissance* (New York: Karger, 1982) 329. Also, see Owsei Temkin, who notes that human blood and bones were still respected epileptic drugs at the beginning of the eighteenth century, *The Falling Sickness: A History of Epilepsy from the Greeks to the Beginnings of Modern Neurology* (Baltimore: Johns Hopkins University Press, 1971), 146. Significantly, there is a clear connection between the handkerchief's Egyptian roots and Egyptian funeral rites that facilitated the availability of mummies, and Egyptian medical practices that were part of the cross-cultural influence on Hippocratic medicine.
28. Schroder, 518. The use of blood for curing epilepsy has ancient medical roots in the Roman notion that blood drunk hot from a gladiator's wounds could cure epilepsy. Quoted in Heinrich von Staden, "Women and Dirt," *Helios* 19.1–2 (1992): 16.
29. Quoted in Temkin, 139.
30. Temkin, 150–151.
31. Strawberries, which are embroidered on the handkerchief, also had a healing power: their juice, when distilled was "a sovereign remedy and cordial in the panting and beating of the heart." See Culpeper, *Complete Herbal*, 247.
32. Carol Thomas Neely also comments on Desdemona's action as "instinctive" in "Women and Men in *Othello*," *Critical Essays on Shakespeare's Othello*, ed., Anthony Gerard Barthelemy (New York: G.K. Hall, 1994) 68–90, esp. 83.
33. Temkin, 171.
34. Neely makes the similar point that Othello's refusal to be healed by the handkerchief creates the breach that culminates in Desdemona's murder, 84.

35. Quoted in Temkin, 63.
36. Neill provides the fascinating context for Desdemona's request in the practice of early seventeenth-century women to have "one's corpse wound in the sheets from the wedding night." See "Unproper Beds: Race, Adultery, and the Hideous in *Othello*" in Barthelemy, 187–215, esp. 199. I argue further that the image of Desdemona's corpse shrouded in linen can also be linked to another funeral ritual, the preparation of mummy.
37. A further sign of Desdemona's uneasiness and ability to foresee her fate at this moment is her reflection upon the story and "The Willow Song" of Barbary. The willow was considered a powerful drug: owned by the moon, it was prescribed for a whole host of ailments. Crucial for my argument is its power to "stay the heat of lust in man or woman, and quite extinguish it, if it be long used," in Culpeper, 271–272. Additionally, "The Willow Song" on which the play draws, anticipates death, bidding "adieu" to life and prescribing an epitaph: "Write this on my tomb, / That in love I was true," thus striking a dangerously close chord to Desdemona's situation. *Shakespeare's Musick: Songs and Dances from Shakespeare's Plays*, Musicians of the Globe, Philips, 1997.
38. An interesting historical aside is that unmarked corpses were highly prized by anatomists. In Venice, dissectors demanded "the corpse of a criminal who had been put to death by forcible submersion in water, in order that the body should be completely uninjured." See Puschmann, 247.
39. Neill, *Issues,* 144.
40. For example, Neely persuasively argues that Othello's love is an ideal to which sex is secondary, and that his relationship with Desdemona "remains symbolically—and perhaps literally—unconsummated," 72, 85.
41. Loughlin, 29–30.
42. Georges Bataille, *The Accursed Share*, trans., Robert Hurley, vol. 1 (New York: Zone Books, 1991) 59.
43. Desdemona's salvific breath resembles that of Du Bartas's personification of "*Prayer,*" from whose "lips there fumes *Nard, Incense, Mummy*, and all rich perfumes," in Joshua Sylvester's translation of *Du Bartas his Second Weeke: The Schisme. The Third Booke of the Fourth Day of the II Weeke, of Bartas*, ed., Alexander B. Grasard (New York: AMS Press Inc., 1967) 1046–1049.
44. The stage directions to Act 5, Scene 2, note that Othello *"smells then kisses her."* This is not, of course, the only onstage representation of the female corpse as inhalable medicine. See "Ile cut her into Atomies … and blow her int' his nosthrils (4.2.41) in Webster, *The White Devil.*
45. Dr. Theodor Turquet de Mayerne, *Medicinal Councils or Advices* (London: 1677) 111.

46. Tommaso Campanella, *Del sonso delle cose e della magia*, quoted in Camporesi, *The Incorruptible Flesh*, trans., Tania Croft-Murray (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1988) 179.
47. "Balm," *The New Shorter Oxford English Dictionary*, 1993 ed.
48. Othello's action also resembles Thomas Browne's description of ancient funeral rites in which mourners "suck'd in the last breath of their expiring friends" in the belief that the "spirit of one body passed into another," in *Hydriotaphia*, *The Major Works*, ed., C.A. Patrides (London: Penguin, 1977) 301.
49. While "sweet powers" may be a reference to pagan classical gods as Honigmann's Arden note states, I suggest that the term resonates with implications of the healing nature of honey—a few lines later, as I argue earlier, Desdemona is described as "Honey" and "sweet"—and the hidden pharmacological powers of the human body.
50. Oswald Croll, *Bazilica Chymica and Praxis Chymiatricae or Royal and Practical Chymistry, 1609,* trans., John Hartman (London, 1670) 156.
51. The description is Linda Singer's from *Erotic Welfare: Sexual Theory and Politics in the Age of Epidemic* (New York: Routledge, 1993) 63.
52. *Nobody and Somebody. The Tudor Facsimile Texts*, ed., John S. Farmer (New York: AMS Press, 1970).
53. Anna S. Meigs, *Food, Sex, and Pollution: A New Guinea Religion* (New Brunswick: Rutgers University Press, 1984) 128, 131. Also quoted in Peggy Reeves Sanday, *Divine Hunger: Cannibalism as a Cultural System* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1986) 59.
54. Jacques Derrida, *Spurs: Nietzsche's Styles* (Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 1979) 87–89.
55. Sanday, 32.
56. *Anniversary* poems encompasses *The First Anniversary. An Anatomy of The World*, *The Second Anniversary*, and *A Funerall Elegie,* which will be abbreviated as *FA, SA*, and *FE.*
57. W. Milgate interprets these lines as "no man's wife, nor (as a human being alive on earth) herself," in *John Donne: The Epithalamions, Anniversaries and Epicedes* (Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1978) 153.
58. The distinction between "us" (males) and "they" (females) and the male coterie implied in the tone of the line, "One woman at one blow, then kill'd us all / And singly, one by one, they kill us now" (*FA*, 106–107), clearly addresses a male readership. H.L. Meakin also makes this point in *John Donne's Articulations of the Feminine* (Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1998) 210.
59. Ben Jonson, "Conversations with Drummond of Hawthornden," *Ben Jonson,* eds., C.H. Herford and Percy and Evelyn Simpson, 11 vols. (Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1925–1952) 1, 133.

60. See also Meakin for her excellent discussion of the "textual sexualization" of Elizabeth Drury's body, 236. Meakin touches on several of the issues regarding the seductive attractiveness of the virginal body that I elaborate in my own reading, although I come to them via a different path.
61. Manley also identifies the Eucharistic implications of Elizabeth Drury being "celebrated only by those who know they have a soul; and *celebrated* in this sense means not only *memorialized* but also *reinacted, reperformed,* as in the celebration of the mass," 17.
62. As Jaroslave Pelikan notes in his discussion of Reformist arguments against the presence of Christ: "the ascension of Christ to the right hand of God precluded his bodily presence in the elements of the Eucharist, since it was to the "advantage" of his disciples and of the church in all ages that they should no longer have direct physical access to him," *Reformation of Church and Dogma (1300–1700)*, vol. 4, *The Christian Tradition: A History of the Development of Doctrine* (Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 1984) 158.
63. See also Antony F. Bellette, who argues that the reference to the poetic act reinforces the important role of poetry and that the poet is God-like, creating the song and giving enduring form to "her." See "Art and Imitation in Donne's *Anniversaries,*" *Studies in English Literature, 1500–1900* 15 (1975): 83–96, esp. 84–85.
64. Elisabeth Bronfen, *Over Her Dead Body: Death, Femininity and the Aesthetic* (New York: Routledge, 1992) 68.
65. This promotion of the power of poetry to improve on nature is consistent with the Elizabethan poetic theory put forward by Philip Sidney: "the poet . . . lifted up with the vigour of his own invention, doth grow in effect another nature, in making things . . . better than nature bringeth forth," in *A Defence of Poetry* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 1989) 23.
66. John Donne, *The Sermons of John Donne,* eds., Evelyn M. Simpson and George R. Potter, 10 vols. (Berkeley: University of California Press, 1954), VII 430–431; IX 168, 170. Quoted in Achsah Guibbory, *Ceremony and Community from Herbert to Milton: Literature, Religion, and Cultural Conflict in Seventeenth-Century England* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1998) 20. See Guibbory for a discussion of the role of the body in ceremonial worship in the Church of England, 20–28. In this sense Donne's spirituality strongly resembles medieval spirituality that was, as Bynum notes, "peculiarly bodily . . . because theology and natural philosophy saw persons as, in some real sense, body as well as soul," in *Fragmentation and Redemption: Essays on gender and the human body in Medieval Religion* (New York: Zone, 1991) 183.
67. Maureen Sabine also identifies a nervous tone here brought on by the idea of the power of the female body over life and death, in *Feminine*

Engendered Faith: *The Poetry of John Donne and Richard Crashaw* (London: Macmillan Press, 1992) 92.

68. Barbara Kiefer Lewalski, *Donne's Anniversaries and The Poetry of Praise: The Creation of a Symbolic Mode* (Princeton: Princeton University Press, 1973) 231.
69. For discussions of the sexual innuendo of the passage, see also Patrick Cruttwell, *The Shakespearean Moment and its Place in the Poetry of the 17th Century* (London: Chatto & Windus, 1954) 52, and Manley, 135.
70. Donne, *The Complete English Poems,* 12.
71. The idea of Elizabeth Drury as a spiritual purgative for all men is a direct contrast to the construction of Desdemona as potentially contaminating for more men.
72. Donne's position here is curiously patristic in his resemblance to early Christian authors who privileged virginity because marriage and childbearing were difficult and dangerous for women. See Margaret R. Miles, *Carnal Knowing: Female Nakedness and Religious Meaning in the Christian West* (Boston: Beacon, 1989) 53–77 for a discussion of early Christian literature of female asceticism. Also, for discussions of Renaissance attitudes toward marriage for women, see Ian Maclean, *The Renaissance Notion of Woman: A Study in the Fortunes of Scholasticism and Medical Science in European Intellectual Life* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1980) 84 and 85, and Loughlin, 28.
73. See also John T. Shawcross, ed., *The Complete Poetry of John Donne* (New York: Doubleday, 1967), who argues that "marriage removes virgin whiteness, but does not corrupt," 288; and Milgate, who argues similarly, 154. Also, Donne registers here the dangers to women of lost virginity in marriage that is taken to its extreme in *Othello.*
74. In this way she resembles early Christian female ascetics who renounced sexual activity and motherhood, as well as the Virgin Mary, who is excluded from the universal rubric of original sin. See Sabine for a discussion of the *Anniversaries* as Donne's honoring of, and farewell to, the Virgin Mary, esp. 78–110.
75. As Marjorie Nicolson argues, *The First Anniversary* offers a "lament over the body—the body of man and the body of the world—a meditation upon death and mortality" and *The Second Anniversary* offers a "vision of the release of the soul from its prison" in *The Breaking of the Circle: Studies in the Effect of the 'New Science' Upon Seventeenth Century Poetry* (New York: Columbia University Press, 1960) 65–66, 88–104.
76. Don Cameron Allen, "John Donne's Knowledge of Renaissance Medicine," *The Journal of English and Germanic Philology* 62 (1943): 322–342, esp. 322.
77. Allen, 325.

78. Manley notes that "new phisicke" probably refers to doctors who were sympathetic to Paracelsian doctrine, 139. For a discussion of the *Anniversaries* through a primarily Paracelsian lens, see Thomas Willard, "Donne's Anatomy Lesson: Vesalian or Paracelsian?" *John Donne Journal* 3.1 (1984): 34-61.
79. From a letter to Goodyere. Quoted in Allen, 341.
80. Sherwood, 64. As I note in chapter 4, Sherwood also discusses knowledge of the body and its experience as crucial to Donne's investigations of the soul and the material or social world, 63.
81. As many have pointed out, in his satire "Upon Mr Thomas Coryat's Crudites," Donne makes another reference to the educational value to society of anatomized corpses: "Worst malefactors, to whom men are prize, / Do public good, cut in anatomies," *The Complete English Poems*, 173–175.
82. Edward Le Comte describes this as the "most medical passage" in *The Second Anniversary*, in *Grace to a Witty Sinner: A Life of Donne* (New York: Walker and Co., 1965) 133. Also, Sawday notes that the belief in, and an analysis of, the body's essence were imperative to any understanding of the significance of the body's materiality, 16.
83. Schroder, 506.
84. Louis L. Martz, ed., *The Meditative Poem: An Anthology of Seventeenth-Century Verse* (New York: Doubleday, 1963) 96; Shawcross, 272; A.J. Smith, ed., *The Complete Poems*, 594; and Manley, 130.
85. "O'repast" appears in most editions of the poem and no variant of the term is reported in the remarkably comprehensive textual apparatus in Gary A. Stringer, ed., *The Variorum Edition of the Poetry of John Donne* (Bloomington: Indiana University Press, 1995) 44. However "o'erpast" does appear in *The Complete Poems,* 595.
86. Full-bodied eating and nourishing is implied here, rather than snacking. Manley, drawing on the seventeenth-century usage of "banquet" to describe a "dessert of nuts, fruit, and wine," identifies the distinction as "eat" rather than "pick at," 142.
87. Sawday, 127.
88. Schroder, 517.
89. Loughlin, 29.
90. Meakin also notes that Elizabeth Drury is transparent and contains no secrets, 210.
91. Neill, *Issues*, 373.
92. Quoted in Rubin, 39.
93. Donne, "Elegy 19, To His Mistress Going to Bed," *The Complete English Poems*, 124. Meakin also describes Elizabeth Drury's body as "seductive," 212.
94. Neill, *Issues,* 171.
95. Donne, "Elegy 8, The Comparison," *The Complete English Poems,* 103.

96. Jonathan Gil Harris offers a fascinating discussion of exotic drugs as metonymies for the foreign goods imported into England in, "I am sailing to my port, uh! uh! uh! uh!": Pathologies of Transmigration and Foreign Trade in *Volpone,*" *Literature and Medicine* 20.2 (2001): 109–132. See also his discussion of Volpone in *Sick Economies: Drama, Mercantilism, and Disease in Shakespeare's England* (Philadelphia: University of Pennsylvania Press, 2004) 129–135. Also, see Sawday's excellent discussion of how the poetic tropes of the English blazon reflect early modern discourses of anatomical science and trade, 188–207, esp. 198.
97. See also Sawday's discussion of Donne's anatomical doubt, 17–19.
98. As Lewalski notes, these colors represent theological virtues such as "faith, charity, and hope," 258. See also Manley, who argues similarly, 160, and Smith, *The Complete Poems,* who proposes white as the color of innocence, purity, and holiness; red as the color of love; and blue as the color of heavenly love, of truth, and of the Virgin, 603.
99. For a discussion of the "cosmology of corruption" and Donne's disillusionment with a world that lacks harmony and beauty, see Victor Harris, *All Coherence Gone* (Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 1949) 121–127.
100. The term is W. Milgate's, *John Donne: The Epithalamions, Anniversaries and Epicedes* (Oxford: Clarendon, 1978) 156.
101. Manley also notes the pun here, arguing that "hymns are also males, which may impregnate others," 176. Similarly, Patrick Mahony identifies in this passage the multiple sexual ironies of puns on "Hymes," as songs, males, and hymen; "Mayd," as "Father"; and "die" as copulation; in "The Heroic Couplet in Donne's *Anniversaries,*" *Style* 4 (1970): 107–117, esp. 112–113.
102. Louis Montrose discusses the recurring reinforcement of the father's powers in a "fantasy of male parthenogenesis" in Donne's era in "'Eliza, Queene of shepheardes,' and the Pastoral of Power," *ELR,* vol. 10 (1980): 153–182, esp. 73. Sabine, 100, and Meakin, 221–22, using Montrose's phrase, argue similarly.
103. Donne, *The Complete English Poems*, 608.

EPILOGUE TRAFFICKING THE HUMAN BODY: LATE MODERN CANNIBALISM

1. Nancy Scheper-Hughes, "Theft of Life: The Globalization of Organ Stealing Rumours," *Anthropology Today* 12:3 (1996): 9
2. Gerard Ryle, "The body harvesters," *The Sydney Morning Herald*, June 24–25, 2006, Weekend Edition: 27; "China Kills for organs, says report," *The Sydney Morning Herald*, July 8–9, 2006, Weekend Edition: 15; Dean Nelson and Mohammad Shehzad, *The Sunday Times*, October 30, 2005, World News: 29; Tom Parfitt, "Beauty

salons fuel Ukrainian trade in aborted foetuses," *Guardian Weekly*, April 22–28, 2005: 3.

3. Drawn from Scheper-Hughes, "The Global Traffic in Human Organs," *Current Anthropology* 41.2 (2000): 191–225.
4. The Bellagio Task Force constitutes fourteen transplant surgeons and transplant specialists, human rights professionals, and social scientists from ten countries. Many of their findings are set out in Scheper-Hughes's article "Global Traffic," and my summary here is drawn from the article itself, the published comments, and the author's response to those comments.
5. Nancy Scheper-Hughes and Loïc Wacquant, eds., *Commodifying Bodies*, (London: Sage Publications, 2002) 58.

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